EMOTIONAL (IN)AUTHENTICITY: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR ON THE POLICE OFFICERS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

SJ LENNIE

PhD 2019

EMOTIONAL (IN)AUTHENTICITY: THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF EMOTIONAL LABOUR ON THE POLICE OFFICERS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

SARAH-JANE LENNIE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the Manchester Metropolitan University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of People and Performance

2019

Abstract

Taking a critical action research approach this thesis examines the psychological outcomes of emotional labour for police officers in England and Wales. Using a sequential qualitative mixed method design this research is broken down into four phases:

- Phase One takes a Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse analysis of selected media items that include police representation.
- Phase Two conducts narrative analysis of 137 audio diary entries of serving officers.
- Phase Three examines the interviews of 4 serving officers and 6 ex-officers using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis.
- Phase Four engages serving officers in two workshops using role play, underpinned by Psychodrama, to encourage problem solving and to identify realistic operational options for improving officers' psychological wellbeing.

Findings show that that emotional labour for police officers begins in the public arena and feeling and display rules operate in every aspect of an officers' life, including with friends and family. The most expressed feeling and display rule is that emotional display is a sign of weakness and an inability to carry out the role of the police officer. Rules are enforced by penalising measures and are described as career limiting or ending. This results in a significant amount of emotional suppression, burnout and dissociative behaviour. Moving away from the traditional quantitative measures for emotional labour has allowed this study to capture the depth and complexity of officers' lived experience of emotional labour. Audio diaries have captured the thinking and motivation behind officers' emotional regulation and has identified how officers depersonalise prior to burnout as compliance with feeling and display rules. Interviews of ex-officers has enabled an association to be made between feeling and display rules and psychological outcomes. Contributing to theory, alongside stress and burnout, emotional labour can now be associated with dissociative behaviour as a psychological outcome.

Acknowledgements

Since my return to academia in 2016 I have been extremely lucky to be inspired and supported by some incredible people. I am grateful for this opportunity and recognise how privileged I am to have undertaken this journey.

I am extremely grateful to my Director of Studies, Dr Sarah Crozier, who has not only guided and inspired me but has given me such creative freedom whilst at the same time being a truly caring and supportive supervisor. I will miss our chats! Also, the talented Dr Anna Sutton, whose clarity of thought and drive is only surpassed by her warmth and sense of humour. Thank you so much for championing my research, you made my dreams come true. To both of you: not only have you helped me with my research, you have enabled me to change the course of my life. I will be forever in your debt.

To Manchester Metropolitan University, for providing the nurturing ground for my research. Thank you for awarding me a scholarship, without which this never would have been possible.

To all the serving and ex police officers who participated and supported my research, without your amazing candour and incredible bravery we would never have achieved what we have. I promise to keep fighting to make your world a healthier and happier place.

But mostly to Graham, my most patient and caring husband who has been my steady rock as I have travelled along this road. So many times it has been your strength that has got me through. To me you are everything, and more.

And lastly, but not quietly, Dennis the Cat. Thanks for accompanying me along the way.

Contents

Chapter One: Introduction. 1

Chapter Two: Literature Review. 12

2.1 Introduction 12

2.2 Emotions, Stress and Mental Health in Policing. 13

2.2.1 Police Culture in England and Wales. 14

2.3 Emotional Labour. 16

2.3.1 Emotional Labour – Theoretical Overview. 16

2.3.2 Feeling Rules and Display Rules. 18

2.3.3 Surface Acting and Deep Acting. 20

2.4 Emotional Labour in Discussion. 21

2.4.1 Emotional Labour (Hochschild, 1983) and the Emotional Labour Process (Bolton, 2005) 22

2.4.2 The Four 'P's' of the Emotional Labour Process: 22

2.4.3 In Response to Bolton. 23

2.4.4 Spontaneous and Genuine Emotional Labour. 28

2.5 Psychological Consequences. 32

2.5.1 Emotional Dissonance. 32

2.5.2 Burnout. 33

2.5.3 Dissociation, Depersonalisation and PTSD 37

2.6 Police in the Public Eye – the Media, Identity and Emotional labour. 42

2.6.1 Identity. 43

2.6.2 Social Power and Emotional Labour. 47

2.7 Police Officers in the Media. 49

2.8 Emotional Labour and Policing: The Extant Literature. 55

2.8.1 Emotional Labour in policing. 56

2.8.2 The Case for Deep Acting. 57

2.8.3 Depersonalisation - burnout or coping? 58

2.8.4 The Case for Surface Acting. 60

2.8.5 Robocop. 63

2.9 Chapter Summary. 63

Chapter Three: Methods and Methodology. 68

3.1 Introduction. 68

3.2 Philosophical Underpinnings. 69
3.2.1 Ontological and Epistemological Positioning. 70
3.2.2 Phenomenology. 70
3.2.3 Historicity and the Hermeneutic Circle. 71
3.2.4 Critical Research. 74
3.2.5 Philosophical Summary. 75
3.3 Methodology. 76
3.3.1 Sequential Qualitative Mixed Methods. 77
3.3.2 Reflexivity. 80
3.3.3 Action Research. 82
3.3.4 Critical Action Research. 83
3.4 Research Design. 85
3.5 Data Collection. 88
3.5.1 Phase One - Secondary Data Review of Police Officer Representation in the Media. 88
3.5.2 Phase Two - Audio Diary. 90
3.5.3 Phase Three - Phenomenological Reflexive Semi-Structured Interviews. 95
3.5.4 Phase Four - Role Play and Psychodrama. 98
3.6 Analysis Procedures. 102
3.6.1 Initial Thematic Analysis to Support Sequential Design. 102
3.6.2 Phase One: Discourse Analysis of Secondary Data Review of Police Officer Representation in the Media. 104
3.6.3. Phase Two: Critical Narrative Analysis of Audio Diary Data. 108
3.6.4 Phase Three: Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) of Phenomenological Reflexive Interviews. 110
3.6.5 Phase Four: The writing of The Sharing: The Reflexive Vignette. 112
3.7 Triangulation of Findings. 113
3.8 Overall Ethical Considerations. 114
3.9 Summary. 116
Chapter Four: Phase One - Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Analysis of Police Officer Representation within the Media. 122
4.1 Introduction. 122
4.2 The Power of the Media. 123
4.3 Findings. 125

4.3.1 Archetypes: 'Boy Scout' & 'Hardboiled Detective/Burned Out Cop'.....125
4.3.2 Boy Scout.....126
4.3.3 Hard-Boiled Detective/Burned Out Cop. 127
4.3.4 Dissociation: Depersonalisation & Derealisation.....129
4.3.5 Aggression. 133
4.3.6 Never Off Duty. 135
4.3.7 Relationships. 137
4.4 Conclusion. 139
Chapter Five: Phase Two – Narrative Analysis of the Audio Diaries. 140
5.1 Introduction. 140
5.2 Category One: General Themes. 143
5.3 Category Two: Themes of Emotional Labour. 146
5.3.1 Feeling and Display Rule: Emotions are a sign of weakness. 146
5.3.2 Feeling and Display Rules: Emotions as a sign of incompetence. 153
5.3.3 Feeling and Display Rules: Members of the public should not be exposed to police officer's emotions. 156
5.3.4 How Feeling Rules are Communicated and Enforced. 158
5.3.5 How feeling and display rules are communicated by behaviours displayed by supervisors and colleagues. 159
5.3.6 How feeling and display rules are communicated by procedures and policy. 161
5.3.7 How feeling and display rules are communicated through training. 163
5.3.8 How feeling and display rules are communicated through sanctions....164
5.4 Category Three: Themes Examining Psychological Outcomes. 166
5.4.1 Burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1981). 166
5.4.2 Emotional Exhaustion. 168
5.4.3 Lack of Personal Accomplishment. 170
5.4.4 Dissociation. 172
5.6 Chapter Summary. 176
Chapter Six: Phase Three - Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Phenomenological Semi-Structured Interviews. 181
6.1 Introduction. 181
6.2.1 Serving Officers Superordinate Theme One: Discrepancy Between Rhetoric and Reality. 186
6.2.2 Serving Officer Superordinate Theme: The Role of the Supervisor.....192

6.2.3 Serving Officer Superordinate Theme: Dissociation, Depersonalisation and Suppression. 196
6.3 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Ex-Officers. 203
6.3.1 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme Consequences and Trust. 207
6.3.2 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme: Self-Sacrifice and Worthlessness. 212
6.3.3 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme: Relationships. 216
6.3.4 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme: Dissociation and Depersonalisation – a culture. 219
6.4 Summary. 222
Chapter Seven: Phase Four - The Sharing: The Reflexive Vignette of the Workshops. 227
7.1 Introduction. 227
7.2 Reflections on, and within, the Workshops. 228
7.2.1 Getting to Know the Study; Getting to Know Each Other. 229
7.2.2 Reactions to the Role Play. 230
7.3 The Sharing: A Discussion. 231
7.4 Experience of Emotional Labour. 232
7.4.1 Humour. 233
7.4.2 Supervision. 235
7.4.3 Single Crewing and Peer Support. 236
7.4.4 Micromanagement, Task Orientation, and Work Intensification. 238
7.4.5 Not? being Valued by the Wider Public and Senior Leaders. 239
7.5 Officer Well-Being. 241
7.5.1 Welfare Second, Scene Guard First. 241
7.5.2 Debriefing and One to Ones. 241
7.5.3 The ‘Police Family’. 244
7.5.4 Independent Support. 244
7.5.5 Recruitment and Training. 245
7.5.6 Compassion. 247
7.6 Integrative Discussion. 247
7.6.1 Experience of Emotional Labour. 248
7.6.2 Officer Wellbeing. 250
7.7 Recommendations. 251
Chapter Eight: Discussion. 253

8.1 Introduction. 253
8.2 Triangulation of Findings: Emotional Labour – The Feeling and Display Rules of the Police Service of England and Wales and the Psychological Impact on Police Officers. 254
8.2.1 Emotions are a weakness and an indicator of incompetence, operating as unofficial performance measures. Emotional Suppression is a Rule requirement. 255
8.2.2 Emotions are communicated through training, policy and procedure, observing colleagues, and interactions with senior leaders. 256
8.2.3 Feeling and Display rules are enforced through career limiting sanctions. 258
8.2.4 Anger is an acceptable emotion. Fear cannot be expressed and must be suppressed. 259
8.2.5 Feeling and Display Rules operate in all areas of officer's life (though with different motivations). 260
8.2.6 Experiences and Expressions of Burnout. 263
8.2.7 Experiences and Expressions of Dissociation. 266
8.2.8 Dissociation as Coping. 268
8.3 Revisiting the Conceptual Framework. 270
8.4 Summary. 272
8.5 Theoretical and Methodological Contributions. 275
8.5.1 Audio Diaries. 275
8.5.2 Sequential Qualitative Mixed Method Design. 276
8.5.3 Cements the link between Emotional Labour and Depersonalisation. ..277
8.5.4 Dissociation linked to Emotional Labour as a Psychological Consequence. 277
8.6 Contributions to Knowledge. 277
8.7 Practical Implications. 278
Chapter Nine: Recommendations. 281
9.1 Physical Environment – Provide officers with comfortable spaces to eat, drink and talk. 281
9.2 Single Crewing – Implement policy that sees officers double crewed as routine. 281
9.3 Time to Process Emotions and Build Relationships with Peers. 281
9.4 Debriefing. 282
9.5 Emotional Intelligence. 282

9.6 Compassionate Leadership. 283
9.7 Police Family: Being Valued and a Sense of Belonging. 283
9.8 Limitations and Future Research. 283
9.8.1 Rank Related Rules. 284
9.8.2 Unit Level Rules. 284
9.8.3 Individual Organisational Feeling and Display Rules. 285
9.8.4 Gendered Nature of Emotion Work. 286
9.8.5 Measures of Dissociation and Burnout. 286
9.8.6 Interventions. 287
9.9 Summary and Conclusion. 287
References 289
Appendices. 316
Appendix A: Author's Reflexive Diary. 316
AA 1: Overview. 316
AA2: Literature Review. 317
AA3: Philosophical Underpinnings. 320
AA4: Research Design. 321
AA5: Participant Recruitment. 323
AA6: Discourse Analysis. 323
AA7: Media Review. 325
AA8: The Anxiety of Data Collection. 328
AA9: Transcription of Audio Diary. 329
AA10: IPA – Interviews. 330
AA11: Social Identity Theory. 331
AA12: The End. 332
Appendix B: Audio Diary Prompt Sheet. 333
Appendix C: Audio Diary Participant Advert. 337
Appendix D: Audio Diary Participant Information Sheet. 340
Appendix E: Interview Participant Information Sheet. 343
Appendix F: Interview Questions. 346
Appendix G: Role Play Scenarios and Scripts. 352
Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. 352
Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E21 355

Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E05 Group Sergeant. 363
Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E19 - Patrol Car.....368
Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E30 - van driver. 371
Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the station. E19 Jordan. 374
Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the station. E21 – Jo. 375
Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the station. E30 Kerry.....376
Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the Station. Night Shift Officer. 377
14 Daisy Avenue 121 with Jo. E Group Sgt Sam. 377
14 Daisy Avenue 121 with Sgt Sam. E21 Jo. 378
Appendix H: Role Play Observer Sheets. 379
Appendix I: Initial Thematic Coding Contribution to Audio Diaries. 381
Appendix J: Audio Diary Coding Contribution for Interview Structure. 384
Appendix K: Initial Thematic Analysis of Secondary Data (Media Review). 477
Initial Thematic Coding of Secondary Data: 'Triple 9' 477
Initial Coding of Secondary Data: Traffic Cops Series 14 Episode 4.....481
Initial Coding of Secondary Data: Happy Valley, Series 2, Episode 4.....483
Thematic Review of Secondary Data: 'Missing, Presumed' (Steiner, 2016). ...485
Appendix L: Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse of Secondary Data. 503
Appendix M: Audio Diary Initial Idiographic Narrative Analysis. 567
Appendix N: Audio Diary General Themes. 573
Appendix O: Audio Diary Themes of Emotional Labour. 585
Appendix P: Audio Diary Themes Examining Psychological Outcomes. 596
Appendix Q: Participant 6 Audio Diary Entry Two. 600
Author's Publications. 602

List of Tables

Table One: Step by Step Thematic Analysis 103

Table Two: Research Summary 118

Table Three: Summary of Narrative Analysis of Audio Diaries 177

Table Four: Superordinate and Subordinated Themes of Serving Officers 186

Table Five: Superordinate and Subordinate themes of Ex-Officers 206

Table Six: Themes – The Sharing, A Discussion 233

List of Figures

Figure 1. Conceptual Framework 67

Figure 2. Hermeneutic Circle 73

Figure 3. Research Design 85

Figure 4. National Decision-Making Model 172

Figure 5. The Suffocating Web of Emotional Labour: Serving Officers 196

Figure 6. The Suffocating Web of Emotional Labour: Ex-Officers 217

Figure 7. The Three Areas of Police Officers' Feeling and Display Rules 301

Figure 8. Police Officers' Emotional Labour, Dissociation and Psychological Outcomes 302

Glossary of Terms

EL	Emotional Labour
MBI	Maslach and Jackson Burnout Inventory
DP	Depersonalisation element of burnout
EE	Emotional Exhaustion element of burnout
PA	Lack of Personal Accomplishment element of burnout
HBD	Hard Boiled Detective
'Ticket'	Authority to carry a firearm or drive a response vehicle

Chapter One: Introduction.

In this thesis I explore the lived experience of the emotional labour of police officers in England and Wales, and how this affects their psychological wellbeing. Police work has long been recognised as a stressful and distressing occupation with physical and psychological outcomes (Rees and Smith, 2008; Schaible and Six, 2016; van de Meer et al., 2017; Lennie et al., 2019). It is often considered that it is the nature of police work that leads to negative mental health due to the exposure to traumatic situations and human suffering (van der Meer et al., 2017). This is a situation that has increased with recent austerity measures that have led to an intensified work place, leading to an increase in individual officers' exposure to traumatic and distressing incidents (Reiner, 2010; Bacon, 2014; Dehaghani and Newman, 2017; Dehaghani, 2019).

Support for this suggestion is found in recent research that shows 1 in 5 police officers are suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), with two thirds unaware that they are unwell (Miller and Burchell, 2019). Clinical psychology has identified how dissociative behaviour such as depersonalisation and derealisation result in emotional numbing and hypo-emotionality, which when experienced at the time of, prior to, or post trauma exposure, increases the likelihood of PTSD (Briere et al., 2005; Lanius et al., 2010; American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Ross et al., 2018). Existing research shows how police officers use dissociative behaviour as a maladaptive coping strategy, leading to poorer mental health outcomes (Aaron, 2000).

Emotional Labour is conceptualised as the suppression of authentic emotions, combined with the outward display of inauthentic emotions. This is carried out in order to comply with organisational and societal expectations as part of an occupational role. These expectations are communicated through feeling and display rules, and employees comply with these rules through surface acting or deep acting (Hochshild, 1983; Grandey et al., 2015; Diefendorff et al., 2011). Emotional Labour is also associated with negative psychological outcomes, specifically emotional dissonance and burnout, through the requirement to suppress authentic

emotions and outwardly display inauthentic emotions as an aspect of the working role (Hochschild, 1983). Behaviour that is typical of the emotional numbing and compartmentalisation of dissociation as identified within the Diagnostic Statistical Manual V (Aaron, 2000; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Furthering this point, employees engaging with emotional labour are described as becoming 'robotic, detached, and un-empathetic' (Wharton, 1999:162). These descriptions reflect the symptomology of dissociation as identified in the Diagnostic Statistical Manual V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). However, being able to express emotions related to a traumatic event whilst in a safe and supportive setting leads to improved physical and mental wellbeing and reduced PTSD symptomology (Pennebaker and Seagal, 1999; Watson and Andrews, 2018). An imperative for the healthy coping of individual police officers, but also for the police service of England and Wales that has seen a significant increase in officer mental health sickness absence in recent years (Hume, 2019).

Despite the changes in the policing mission over the last decades to one of service delivery and performance management, the culture of the police service of England and Wales is traditionally macho. This culture is typically grounded in violence, danger and authority, undermining emotional expression and perpetuating mental health stigma and has been reinforced by the implementation of austerity measures which saw the police service stripped back to its crime fighting agenda (Reiner, 2010; Bacon, 2014; Bell and Eski, 2015; Watson and Andrews, 2018). This image of the officer who is action orientated and in control of their emotions, leads to officers repressing emotions which are viewed as weaknesses and threats to their careers (Waters and Ussery, 2007; Watson and Andrews, 2018). It is this culture around emotional expression which can impede voluntary disclosure due to a sense of shame attached to emotional display. Employees who work in a culture of stigma and shame are less likely to benefit from emotional expression, which otherwise allows cognitive processing of traumatic experiences (Kenneday-Moore and Watson, 2001; Watson and Andrews, 2018). Therefore, my thesis explores the connection between emotional labour and officers' psychological wellbeing, where I examine the culture of emotional expression within the police service through the construct of emotional

labour, whilst capturing the experienced psychological outcomes for police officers. This is achieved through a qualitative research design which is an approach that is underexplored/underutilised in the extant literature. As a result, this qualitative research design will support both a methodological as well as empirical contribution. With this in mind I present two **Research Aims** for this thesis:

- To understand how emotional labour impacts on psychological health within the police service of England and Wales.
- To make recommendations for operational and cultural changes which can improve officers' psychological health in relational to emotional expression.

Emotional Labour theory is understood through feeling and display rules which govern the emotions employees should be experiencing and expressing as part of their work role. Feeling and display rules are often implied and learnt through observing other employees' behaviour. Employees comply with the feeling and display rules through surface or deep acting, either attempting to change their internal and authentic emotions, or changing their outward countenance to correlate with the required emotion. With this in mind Hochschild is concerned with power within the organisation and how this governs the employees' emotional experience and expression, drawing on Marx's alienation theory, (Hochschild, 2003; van Gelderen et al., 2014; Riley and Weiss, 2016). This thesis seeks to understand how the societal and organisational feeling and display rules govern police officer emotional expression, how officers subjugate themselves to this power, and how this links to individual mental health outcomes. In Chapter Two, I examine the extant literature on Emotional Labour and identify how it is linked to negative psychological outcomes such as burnout, stress, heart disease, and emotional dissonance (Brotheridge and Lee, 2003; Hochschild, 2003; Jeung et al., 2018). The emotional labour literature is diverse and feeling and display rules vary from organisation to organisation. They can be defined by unit-level display rules, may depend upon support from supervisors, or be affected by emotional commitment strategies adopted by employees. This makes it difficult to identify a consistent picture across the landscape. Indeed, there is significant debate as to where emotional labour

theory is applicable, and whether it is potentially beneficial as well as detrimental to employees' wellbeing, which I discuss further.

The complexity of organisational culture means that it is difficult to compare emotional labour literature across sectors, as different industries require different levels and approaches in contact with customers (Brook, 2009; Bolton, 2009; Humphrey et al., 2015; Fouquereau et al., 2018; Grandey and Sayre, 2019). In this thesis I draw attention to the exposure to trauma as well as the negative emotions that officers experience, whilst at the same time complying with the organisational feeling and display rules and how these play out in an officers' private and social life. This is particularly relevant when considering the psychological outcomes of emotional labour for police officers as an organisational group specifically. It is argued that the emotional labour phenomenon should be viewed not only in organisational context but also within the current political landscape (Lavee and Strier, 2018). Taking into consideration the austerity measures of the last decade and the significant loss of front-line resources, it is important to recognise how this has intensified the work place and individual officer workload, subjecting officers to an increased exposure to traumatic and distressing incidents (Lumsden and Black, 2017).

Exploring the extant literature specific to emotional labour in policing in **Chapter Two** it is clear how the typically quantitative measures employed have produced a reductionist view of emotional labour in policing, reducing emotions to discrete measures devoid of context. The wide variety of measures (and at times, partial measures) produce a picture that is conflicted and often confused, with opposing findings and little consensus. Indeed, often what is described is the outcome of feeling and display rules – what emotions are suppressed or expressed, but rarely what the feeling and display rules are perceived to be by police officers' and how they play out within the entirety of an officer's life. The extant literature examining emotional labour for police officers does not allow for the exploration of the lived experience as a totality or place it within the wider social context that I argue works to perpetuate the very phenomenon under study. Indeed, my own preliminary study (Lennie et al., 2019) is one of the few studies that takes a phenomenological

approach to exploring emotional labour in policing and Maslach and Jackson's (1981) Burnout Measure, identifying how officers' not only experience feeling and display rules within the organisational context, but also in their private and social sphere with friends and family.

It is from this review that I identify my research gaps, and draw the five main **Principle Research Questions** of this thesis:

1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers?

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

3. How do these rules influence police officer psychological health?

4. To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms?

5. How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health?

Recognising the limitations of quantitative measures when studying emotional labour in the policing context, I take a hermeneutic phenomenological approach within this thesis. Within this perspective highlight the importance of historicity as central to subjective interpretation (Lee, 1991; Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991; Myers, 2013). This is not only of importance in exploring officers' preconceived understanding of socially constructed feeling and display rules, and how they operate within their lives to inform their continuing lived experience, but also in drawing attention to this author's fore-conceptions that they bring with them to the subsequent research design and analysis. With this is mind I have personally engaged in reflexivity as a way of acknowledging, exploring and presenting my world experience interpretation to the reader. I do this through a reflexive diary provided at **Appendix A: Authors Reflexive Diary**, and I would ask the reader to access the first entry **1.1 Overview** at this point.

I have taken a critical approach to this thesis with the intention to not only identify the powers that enable emotional labour and feeling and display rules to perpetuate through an officers' life, but also to challenge the subjugation of the organisation and individuals to these powers, and in doing so challenge the status quo (Miller, 2000; Alvesson and Deetz, 2000; May, 2002; Gutting, 2005). Underpinned by an interpretative paradigm I capture multiple perspectives and many voices in the analysis of officers' lived experience of emotional labour, in order to truly understand the commonality of experience, and to provide a platform for officers to speak out without fear of recrimination or judgement (Foucault, 1986). In **Chapter Three** I present the four-phase sequential mixed methods research design that is used to structure this study.

In the **first phase**, this thesis looks outside of the organisation and the individual to explore social expectations of the police officer and how the media portray and perpetuate the feeling and display rules operating within officers' lives. This is conducted through analysis of a selection of media artefacts using the Sociology of Knowledge Analysis of Discourse, identifying discourses on emotional expression, as communicated to the wider public and society (Keller, 2011).

In the **second phase**, audio diaries are used as a way of providing a safe and private space for participants to recount their emotional experiences without the immediate influence of the researcher. The resulting data set is analysed using Critical Narrative Analysis, initially taking an ideographical approach identifying authentic expressions of emotional experience and identity construction, linking the past to the present, and the individual to the collective, capturing expressions of emotional labour and psychological strain. Following on from this element of analysis, thematic analysis was conducted across the individual narratives set against themes of emotional labour and psychological outcomes. This data was then integrated and analysed from a nomothetic perspective, identifying commonality of experience, with the first level of analysis being descriptive and the second making theoretical connections (Riessman, 1993; Crozier et al., 2015).

Building upon these initial phases of data the **third phase** of research undertook phenomenological semi-structured interviews with serving and ex-police officers.

Having ex-officers as a data set within this research provides a unique perspective that is not often encountered within academic studies, adding voices to this research that are less restricted and governed by the existing feeling and display rules that may still operate to restrain their serving colleagues from truly opening up with a researcher. The use of semi-structured interviews allowed for a more guided exploration of the themes identified within the audio diary data and the phenomenon under study. Analysis was undertaken through the use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, a process that is underpinned by hermeneutic phenomenology and is specifically focussed on exploring how people make sense of, and attach significance to, their lived experience of phenomena; exploring the meaning-making processes applied within individual relational, cultural, and temporal perceptions (Smith 1999).

Finally, taking a critical action research approach in **phase four** I conducted two workshops with serving officers, involving a presentation of the research findings and engaging them in role plays underpinned by psychodrama. This allowed officers to explore the contrast of inner authentic emotions with outer inauthentic emotional display within typical police related scenarios (Kellermann, 1992; British Psychodrama Association, 2017). Following these aspects of the workshops, officers were invited to reflect on the research and the experiences of emotional labour expressed within the role plays and invited them to suggest and discuss recommendations for changes to policing going forward. This harnessed the self-reflective and emancipatory aspect of critical action research, which has a focus on change and social justice (Myers, 2013). Due to the methods that were used to gather the data, participants expressed experiencing therapeutic relief as a result of engaging with this study. This had been anticipated for the audio diary and psychodrama elements of the research, as both of these processes are typically associated with therapeutic outcomes (Crozier et al., 2015; British Psychodrama Association, 2017). However, participants engaging with the reflective interviews also expressed a positive therapeutic relief at being able to express their emotional experiences. These outcomes in themselves support the principles underpinning this thesis, in so much that authentic emotional expression supports healthy emotional

processing of trauma and distress (Pennebaker and Seagal, 1999; Watson and Andrews, 2018).

The findings of this thesis are presented in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven, with the triangulation of the findings carried out in the Discussion at Chapter Eight. **Chapter Four** explores the findings of the Sociology of Knowledge Analysis of Discourse of the selected media, finding the police officer represented through two main archetypes: The Boy Scout and The Hardboiled Detective. The data analysed presents an image of the typical police officer as one who is suffering from PTSD due to workplace trauma. Normalising this psychological outcome of police work for officers and the general public, these negative outcomes are often presented as necessary components of a successful officer and are often depicted within the hero of the story: The Hardboiled Detective. Typically, Hardboiled Detectives are emotional repressed and dissociative, and the feeling rules are clear: emotions are to be suppressed. Relationships, if they exist, are strained as officers continue their emotional suppression into their familial and social lives. The only emotion permissible is anger, otherwise the emotions of the officers are secondary to the needs of the investigation and wider organisation.

Chapter Five provides a critical narrative analysis of the audio diaries. Using this method of data collection not only gave participants space and security to articulate their authentic emotional experiences, this process also captured the underlying processes that lead to officers' emotional silence, suppression, modulation and potentially increased mental ill health. Officers' were able to express their perception of the feeling and display rules that enforced emotional suppression and hinder officer coping through a requirement for dissociation and emotional numbing. Officers acknowledge that they act out emotions as a requirement of the feeling and display rules and express being robotic in their behaviour. The anxiety that is experienced through front line police work is increased over concerns of internal investigations of conduct and decision making. The resulting requirement for continual emotional expression is indicative of behaviour linked to dissociative PTSD. This is a significant finding that indicates that it is not necessarily the trauma itself

that leads to poor psychological outcomes, but the fear of internal investigations and the lack of support provided for officers.

Chapter Six reports on the Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of the Phenomenological Semi-Structured Interviews, analysing the data of two sets of participants: serving officers and ex-serving police officers. Having access to ex-police officers provided a very unrestricted reflection of emotional labour in the police service. Ex-officers were able to make the link between feeling and display rules, organisational behaviour and their own psychological outcomes. Both sets of officers were clear about the punitive responses to help seeking behaviour or emotional expression and the loss of trust and isolation that resulted. This supported the reflections of participants in Chapter Five, who anticipated such consequences to emotional expression, and tempered their own emotional responses accordingly. Day to day processes and policies also reinforced the requirement to suppress emotions. Work intensification and single crewing led officers to actively dissociate and emotionally numb themselves in lieu of an available emotional outlet or time to process emotional experiences. This in turn erodes officers' opportunities to build trusting relationships, an affect that is apparent within the family home as officers suppress their emotions so as not to worry their families that they may not be coping with the daily distress of police work. All this demonstrates how police officers feel compelled to suppress their emotions within every aspect of their lives, leaving them very little opportunity to process the events that they deal with as an aspect of their daily work. Officers expressed a perception that this is their responsibility to bear as an aspect of being a good police officer, reflecting of the findings in phase one.

Chapter Seven reports on the outcomes of the two workshops conducted with serving officers. The work during the role plays reflected that of the earlier data collection phases, with officers suppressing their emotions during the acting – but on reflection openly acknowledge a wide range of emotions that were experienced internally. Following the role plays officers were invited to discuss what changes they believed were needed to support officers with emotional processing and better psychological health. Officers were clear that nothing would change without it being put into policy, as operational needs always took precedence over everything else.

This was seen as something that needed to be dealt with at every stage of the organisation – beginning at recruitment and training, where officers were in need of training in mental health and emotional expression. Debriefing was seen as key to providing close peer support and there was a clear desire for support to come out of close relationships built within immediate teams – however, it was clear that it was time as well as education that was required to make this possible. Officers were clear that they need the opportunity to build and maintain trusting relationships, within this an end to single crewing was suggested. Overall officers spoke of the need to return to the concept of the police family, which officers expressed as something they had as an expectation on joining. Officers spoke of the need to feel support from the people with whom they shared their experiences with and from the senior leaders and members of the public that they worked for.

In conclusion I find that the emotional labour experienced by police officers begins in the public arena, with officers' identity socially constructed through media representation and the public acceptance of this. Feeling and display rules operate not only with members of the public in the operational environment, but also with colleagues, supervisors, and senior leaders. The predominate feeling and display rule is that emotional display is a sign of weakness and inability to carry out their role. These rules are enforced by punitive responses to emotional display, described by officers as career limiting or ending. The few emotions permissible – anger and humour – both seek to isolate officers who already feel unable to communicate with their colleagues. However, feeling and display rules for police officers also operate within the familial and social arena, with officers suppressing their emotions to protect their families from the distress of police work, but also in an effort not to worry their loved ones that they might not be able to cope with the daily distress of their work. Officers also seek to protect friendships by not discussing their work, fearful that the details of their experiences will be too distressing and alienate them from the people around them. All this leads to officers who are isolated and unable to seek help or support, emotional suppression and dissociative behaviour are used as ways of coping.

My contributions through this research are underpinned by the methodological approach I have taken. Moving away from traditional quantitative methods to study emotions in the workplace has allowed a much richer picture of emotional labour to develop, with the complexity of feeling and display rules applicable to police officers exposed and placed within their social and organisational context. The use of audio diaries has had a significant impact on the depth of data obtained, providing officers with the privacy and security needed to fully express their inner emotions and cognitive processing. The inclusion of ex-officers has further developed this picture and enabled an association to be made between feeling and display rules and individual psychological outcomes. The methodological approaches taken supported the uncovering of cognitive processing and has identified how officers depersonalise prior to burnout as compliance with feeling and display rules. Contributing to the theory of emotional labour, dissociation can now be linked to emotional labour as a psychological consequence. The practical implications of these findings demonstrate how the emotional labour of police officers can lead to poor psychological outcomes through the requirement to engage in dissociative behaviour as part of the social role of the police officer, which when combined with daily exposure to trauma can increase in PTSD symptomology (Biere et al., 2005; Lanius et al, 2010; Ross et al., 2018). This is an essential contribution in this research area as it offers the police service an insight as to why their officers are increasingly suffering with poor mental health, and why mental health sickness absence is on the rise. No longer should mental ill-health be seen as an inevitable outcome to trauma exposure through police work. It can be seen through this research that it is the organisation itself that contributes to the distressing experiences of individual police officers and their associated psychological outcomes. The recommendations for future research within this thesis offer practical options that can assist individual forces in making meaningful contributions in the support of individual officers' healthy coping and positive mental health outcomes, and positively improve both the lives of our police officers and the communities that they serve.

Chapter Two: Literature Review.

2.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to position this study within the extant literature of policing, emotional labour and psychological outcomes, and media and identity. I briefly explore the current situation of policing, the culture therein, and the relationship with emotional expression and mental health. Following this I set out the theoretical basis of emotional labour and the arguments for and against the construct of emotional labour as discussed within the extant literature. I then examine the psychological outcomes of emotional labour as identified by Hochschild (1983): emotional dissonance and burnout. Further to this I explore the link between emotional suppression, dissociation, and PTSD; setting out my main focus for exploration. From here I explore the relationship of media representation of policing with police identity and emotional labour. Finally, I review the extant literature on emotional labour in policing, concluding with the aims and objectives of this study. Taking this approach, from general conceptual overview to the specifics of emotional labour in policing, allows me to demonstrate how each area links to the next and in doing so exposes my research gap. This in turn shapes my research objectives, which drive my conceptual framework and underpins my subsequent research design.

TO ACCESS THE RESEARCHER'S THOUGHTS ON THE LITERATURE PLEASE GO TO APPENDIX A: AUTHOR'S REFLEXIVE DIARY - AA2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.2 Emotions, Stress and Mental Health in Policing.

Police work has long been recognised as a stressful and distressing occupation, resulting is both physical and psychological consequences (Rees and Smith, 2008; Schaible and Six, 2016: Watson and Andrews, 2018). Police officers are exposed to traumatic situations on a daily basis through incidents involving death, the handling of cadavers, homicide, offences against children, extreme violence and threats to their own lives. This has been well researched and linked to negative mental health outcomes, particularly Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), depression and anxiety, with 1 in 5 officers suffering from PTSD (van der Meer et al., 2017; Miller and Burchell, 2019). Officers also experience secondary trauma through exposure to others distress via witness statements, victim statements and interviewing suspects, which is linked to Secondary Traumatic Stress (STS). STS is the manifestation of PTSD symptoms by those connected to the trauma of others (MacEachern et al., 2018; Parkes et al., 2018). Recent studies of a British police Family Protection Unit and investigators dealing with sexual offence material found that emotional numbing, emotional exhaustion, detachment from others, desensitisation, suspicion of others and family, and isolation in social settings were all significant outcomes - which increased over time and exposure (Parkes et al., 2012; MacEachern et al., 2018; Parkes et al., 2018). However, these studies reported that officers avoided admitting that aspects of their work were upsetting; feeling that any expression of emotion would be seen as a weakness, or not coping. Significantly, officers felt scared to speak out as they did not want to be viewed as a failure or unreliable: 'the perpetuating stance being that people knew what they were getting into when they joined the police and being expected to show a stiff upper lip' (MacEachern et al., 2018:7 Parkes et a., 2018; Watson and Andrews, 2018).

In examining British policing, Rees and Smith (2008) identified a traumatic circle of silence within police work, describing an organisational culture that restricts the processing of trauma through the demand for continual suppression of emotions; beyond the organisation and into the family home (Rees and Smith, 2008; Adams and Buck, 2010; Lennie et al., 2019). It is of concern that officers feel pressurised to feel

invulnerable, and only feel that they are entitled to support once they have reached breaking point (van der Meer et al., 2017; Parkes et al., 2018; Watson and Andrews, 2018). This is all despite research showing that early psychological and social support moderates the complexity and debilitating nature of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (Stephens and Long, 1999 & 2000; Heffrena and Hausdorf, 2016). Indeed, MacEachern et al., (2018:7) argue that there is further research required to explore the cultural norms that influence officer coping.

As it is, the maladaptive coping strategies employed by officers and the outcomes for the individual, their families, and wider communities, has been widely documented in academic literature (Maslach and Jackson, 1979; Aaron, 2000; Adams and Buck, 2010). The archetypal burned out detective, or hard-boiled policeman, is often employed in both literary fiction and film. Entering the public psyche as an almost accepted, and expected, norm (Dick; 1969; Moore, 2006; Mankell, 2002).

The recent increases in stress and mental ill-health sickness absence within UK police forces, and the increased awareness around mental health, raises the question as to why more can't be done to support officers in positively coping with their daily work (Hume, 2019; Watson and Andrews, 2018).

2.2.1 Police Culture in England and Wales.

British policing has experienced a changing landscape over the last 20 years, moving away from law and order and 'police forces' to the commodification of policing and an emphasis on consumerism and service provision within 'police services' (Loader, 1999; Westmarland, 2016; Watson and Andrews, 2018). Whilst still required to uphold the law, there is an expectation for the police to be customer-orientated and to meet public expectations. This reorientation of the policing approach began with the Scarman Report published in 1981, which advocated police/community relations and police accountability. This was reemphasised under the 1997 Blair Government which sought to give 'power back to the people'. As a result, local communities became directly involved in the setting of policing priorities, as the police worked in partnership with local authorities on crime prevention (Reiner, 2010; Westmarland, 2016). This change in tack resulted in a rise in managerlism and consumerism, with

a focus on targets and professionalization (Westmarland, 2016; Stafford, 2016). Indeed, members of the public became known as 'customers, even if they were prisoners' (Reiner, 2010:248). Policing continues to struggle with the dilemma of how to meet targets that essentially service managerialist demand, whilst serving the needs of the customer (Westmarland, 2016). This tension between customer service and crime fighting has led to a role which sees officers alternating between the need to be 'nicer than nice' and 'tougher than tough': simultaneously being expected to show compassion to the victims of crime that they are seeking to protect, and suppress authentic emotions whilst dealing with conflict and aggression (Bakker and Heuven, 2006; Guy et al., 2008; Daus and Brown, 2012; Watson and Andrews, 2018). This position has become exacerbated in the recent years of austerity with officers under increasing pressure to meet targets whilst delivering a compassionate customer service with limited resources and time. Officers themselves are feeling increasingly compromised and vulnerable as they are held accountable for a service they have little control over delivering (Brown and Woolfenden, 2011; Dudau and Bruneto; 2019). This tension in the organisational culture and the impact on officers can be seen through the emotional labour they perform as they attempt to meet the many demands made of them, whilst maintaining their own personal and professional integrity.

Emotional labour research is aligned with feminist theory and the gendered nature of work, where 'soft skills' involving emotions, caring, communication or human service work are often uncompensated and undervalued (Steinberg and Figart, 1999). This reflects the typical machismo police culture which is born out of a working role that is traditionally grounded in violence, danger and authority, and undermines emotional expression, perpetuating mental ill-health stigma (Bell and Eski, 2015; Watson and Andrews, 2018). This would seem an enduring culture that has resisted organisational change, maintaining a masculine ethos steeped in a sense of mission, action and thrill seeking (Reiner, 2010; Loftus, 2010; Bacon, 2014). A position which has been recently reinforced by the British Coalition Government who sort to strip back policing to a crime-fighting agenda, in the name of reform and austerity (Reiner, 2010; Bacon, 2014). However, this image of the officer who is

action orientated and in control of their emotions, leads to officers repressing emotions which are viewed as weaknesses and threats to their careers (Waters and Ussery, 2007; Watson and Andrews, 2018). Though externally officers may deny that they find their work distressing, stressful or frightening, their authentic emotions tell a different story, and it is this emotional labour that this thesis suggests leads to the increase in mental ill-health sickness we currently see in the British police service.

2.3 Emotional Labour.

In this section I will explore the original concept of emotional labour as articulated by Arlie Hochschild, examining the different elements of feeling and display rules and surface acting and deep acting (1983; 2003). The concept of emotional labour is central to this thesis in exploring the inner and authentic emotions of police officers, in contrast to their outward emotional display. There is already evidence within the literature (Rees and Smith, 2008; Parkes et al., 2012; Parkes et al., 2018; MacEachern et al., 2018; van der Meer et al., 2018; Lennie et al., 2019) that officers suppress their authentic emotions in line with organisational and social expectations. The emotional labour framework allows this study to explore the motivations and perceptions underlying these behaviours, and how they potentially affect police officers' processing of trauma and psychological outcomes. I will then address some of the arguments in the extent literature that speak in praise and against Hochschild's thesis, including arguments for the 'Dark Side' and 'Bright Side' of emotional labour (Ashforth and Humphry, 1993; Schaubroeck and Jones, 2000; Bolton, 2009; Brook; 2009 Grandey et al., 2015).

2.3.1 Emotional Labour – Theoretical Overview.

Emotional Labour was first conceptualised in the 1983 by Arlie Hochschild in her seminal text 'The Managed Heart: Commercialisation of Human Feeling,' and has since be applied in a number of occupational settings - particularly within the nursing and teaching industry (Theodosius, 2008; Kinman et al., 2011; Lennie, 2020 forthcoming). Hochschild's initial research examined air attendants and bill collectors; exploring how they managed their emotions as an aspect of their roles

and in order to carry out their daily work. Hochschild (1983) explains emotional labour as the commercialisation of everyday emotion work which, though typically carried out in the private sphere, is brought under the control of the organisation and operationalised within the public arena. Emotion work is the application of emotional intelligence in by which the ability to sense and govern one's own emotional state is manipulated in order to obtain a desired emotional response in others (Salovey and Mayer, 1990; Mayer et al., 2004; Guy et al., 2012). For example, an emotional display such as gratitude can be a requirement of good social manners, which may be displayed without the alignment of an individual's internal emotions (as the individual may privately acknowledge, for example, feeling anxious or threatened), clear in the knowledge that this can aid acceptance within a desired social group or setting (Grandey et al., 2015).

However, Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour theory articulates the commoditisation of emotion work within the service industries, describing the suppression and expression of emotion as controlled by the organisation through 'feeling and display rules' as an aspect of an employee's role, and in exchange for a wage (Hochschild, 1979; Hochschild, 1983; Brotheridge and Lee, 2003; Gelderen et al., 2014; Grandey and Sayre, 2019). Demand is met through processes of 'deep acting' and 'surface acting' and though this is carried out as a requirement of a work role it 'can be a matter of survival rather than personal choice' (Grandey et al., 2015:770; Riley and Weiss, 2016; Grandey and Sayre, 2019).

Hochschild applied Marx's alienation theory to the human cost of emotional labour and politicisation of the work place by arguing that employees can become alienated from their emotional product as organisations demand control over the type, time and display of emotions (Hochschild, 1983; Brook, 2013). In line with Marx, Hochschild is clearly concerned with how power within the organisation is used to control the individual and their emotional experience through the role of social structures, arguing that emotion management in exchange for a wage is an 'aspect of labour power' (Hochschild, 1979:659; Hochschild, 1983; Colley, 2006; Brook, 2013). This creates a sense of duality within the worker as emotional exchanges with customers and clients become a commodified interaction, designed by the

organisation; packaged and delivered by the employee (Hochschild, 1983; Brook, 2009; Grandey and Sayre, 2019). Employees experience an alienating loss of ownership and control of their emotions through the codification of organisational feeling rules (Hochschild, 1983).

2.3.2 Feeling Rules and Display Rules.

Unlike time and labour - it is not openly acknowledged that organisations also control employee emotions (Shuler and Sypher, 2000). Hochschild (1979; 1983; 2006) identifies this control through feeling and display rules, which are both formal, and informal, expectations and standards; which regulate the employee emotional experience. Hochschild developed her concept of 'feeling rules' from examining the work of Freud, Darwin and Goffman in her 1979 prequel to 'The Managed Heart'. Hochschild (1979:566) explores how emotions are regulated socially and controlled individually and recognises the distinction between universal rules (such as not enjoying killing or witnessing killing) and rules that are unique to particular social groups. Feeling and display rules also influence and guide social exchange between individuals.

Feeling rules generate emotional inauthenticity, creating a 'pinch between 'what I do feel' and 'what I should feel'' (Hochschild, 1983:57). Within the literature, internal and private emotions are considered authentic; with outwardly displayed emotions an aspect organisational requirement (Fineman, 2003). Although, there has been less empirical research conducted on internally experienced emotions; more than likely due to the amount of inference that needs to be drawn by the researcher (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1991; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Grandey and Sayre, 2019).

As it is, further emphasis has been placed on the requirement of outer expression through the concept of display rules (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Diefendorff et al., 2011; Grandey and Sayre, 2019). Displayed emotions are considered to manifest through facial expression, tone of voice, body gestures and language used, and often require the outward expression of one emotion, whilst supressing an alternate, inner and authentic emotion. This is often in order to manipulate the emotions of others in order to for the employee to

successfully carry out their job role (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Grandey and Sayre, 2019). Adding to this organisational control, Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) highlight how emotional display is also important within the relationship between employees within the organisation - even if it is feigning friendliness to gain a favour from a colleague.

In the main feeling and display rules are implied and organisations will use different monitoring and enforcement strategies, including bonuses and promotion, 'mystery shoppers' or through organisational culture where unacceptable expressions of emotions are challenged by colleagues (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989; Grandey and Sayre, 2019). Target audiences can also be drawn in to assist with the monitoring of employee behaviour by organisations openly communicating expected company standards and advertising complaint procedures (Raphaeli and Sutton, 1987; 1989). However, in many occupations there are also clear guidelines as to behaviour eg. Police Code of Ethics (College of Policing, 2014). Discretion is also another variant between roles and organisations. Rules can be prescriptive, such as for police officers in England and Wales who are required to 'remain composed and respectful, even in the face of provocation' (College of Policing, 2014:6), which is a similar expectation that is made of Disney World employees, but may vary as a requirement for waiting staff in restaurants who maybe 'allowed' to show negative emotions to obnoxious customers (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989). Monitoring also plays a part in how much discretion an employee can exercise (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987; 1989).

Breaking feeling and display rules down further, Diefendorff et al. (2011) argue that there is the potential for unit-level display rules, that result from team socialisation, with work groups perceiving 'local emotion norms' (Diefendorff et al., 2011:172). These may differ from the formal organisational display rules, and at times even supersede them. This is an important perspective as studying occupational groups at large may not be enough to understand individual emotional labour and engagement, and importantly: outcomes. There is also the question of how organisations, who maybe seeking to improve emotion management strategies of employees, may have their work undermined by individual team emotion norms and

rules (Diefendorff et al., 2011). With this in mind it reinforces the importance of research to recognise different sub groups within organisations that can develop different feeling rules, and therefore not compare apples with pears, such as call handlers with scenes of crime officers – who will be subject to different environmental and identity pressures.

2.3.3 Surface Acting and Deep Acting.

Surface Acting and Deep Acting are taken from Goffman's Social Exchange theory and are an aspect of impression management (Hochschild, 1979; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Fouquereau et al., 2018). They are the effort that employees make to comply with feeling and display rules, they do not relate to the outcome, as performance and success will undoubtedly vary (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). Although some employees may be a 'good fit' to their role, authentic emotions don't always coincide with what is expected of them, and even the most engaged employee will be required to act (Grandey, 2003; Fouquereau et al., 2018; Grandey and Sayre, 2019).

Surface Acting is the physical, outward, and visible expression of an emotion, engaged in order to comply with organisational feeling and display rules. With surface acting there is no intention to engage internally with the required emotion, though this does not mean that the individual experiences a lack of emotion: authentic emotion differs from the required and displayed emotion (Zapf, 2002; Fouquereau et al., 2018). A sense of inauthenticity is likely to result when surface acting is employed, and is often viewed as faking (Hochschild, 1983; Adams and Buck, 2010; van Gelderen et al., 2014). Such faking can also lead to individuals being suspected of deception through the leakage of emotions or impair their ability to carry out the task at hand due to the attentional and energy resources required (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989; Grandey and Sayre, 2019).

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987; 1989) put forward the supposition of 'faking in good faith' and 'faking in bad faith'. 'Faking in good faith' is considered to be the offering of false emotions but believing that this is the correct thing to do as part of the job role. 'Faking in bad faith' is offering false emotions but believing that this emotional

representation should not be part of the job requirement. Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) argue that faking in bad faith is going to lead to an increase in emotional dissonance and negative health outcomes due to increased psychological discomfort.

In contrast **Deep Acting** is an antecedent-focused emotional regulation strategy that sees the employee 'intentionally regulate their emotional experiences so as to bring forth or create internal states of arousal' (Wharton, 1999:160; Hulsheger and Schewe, 2010). This is where an employee engages emotional effort to drive a cognitive change in order to feel the appropriate emotion, prior to the development of the emotion; creating a balance between felt and required emotion prior to expression (van Gelderen et al., 2014; Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Fouquereau et al., 2018). In deep acting there is also the desire to appear authentic, and this is found to have a positive influence on interactions with customers supporting the idea that 'deep acting has the power to convince an audience' (Grandey, 2003:93).

2.4 Emotional Labour in Discussion.

There has been much debate in the extant literature as to whether Hochschild's (1983) emotional labour theory is applicable to all organisations, in particular public services (Brook, 2009; Bolton, 2009; Bolton, 2010; Brook, 2013; Williams, 2013, Humphrey et al., 2015). I acknowledge the criticisms and limitations of Hochschild's original study, which was context specific (air industry), and therefore did not address the complexity and contradictory nature of emotional demands that are experienced within areas of the public sector, particularly nursing, teaching, or policing (Bolton, 2005; Brook, 2005; Theodosius, 2008; Kinman et al., 2011; Williams, 2013). However, though Hochschild's theory may be limited to this one sector (at the time of conception), it is recognised as a great advancement in the study of emotion at work by all parties within the debate (Bolton, 2005; Brook, 2009; Kinman et al., 2011; Grandey and Sayre, 2019).

2.4.1 Emotional Labour (Hochschild, 1983) and the Emotional Labour Process (Bolton, 2005).

Criticism has been made of Hochschild's thesis by Bolton (2005) who states that it is not fit for a non-commercial environment, and that it takes a one-dimensional view of the organisation. In its place Bolton suggests a typology of 'four P's' of the Emotional Labour Process (ELP) (Bolton, 2003; 2005; 2009). Through the ELP Bolton (2005) provides a multi-dimensional approach to aid the understanding of emotions in organisations. Within this Bolton views power returned back to the individual in so much that they are understood to retain a sense of themselves as being in control of their emotion: 'the most important idea is that actors already have considerable capacity to manage their emotions and that such capacities derive from basic socialisation.' (Bolton, 2005:99). Bolton then breaks down emotional labour into four classes of emotion work: commercial, professional, organisational and social. Feeling rules are considered more fluid, open to reinterpretation and negotiation, within an ever-shifting framework.

2.4.2 The Four 'P's' of the Emotional Labour Process:

Pecuniary Emotion Management is considered a matter of survival in a capitalist economy. Bolton makes the argument that the accompanying commercial feeling rules are most likely to result in a cynical performance. Pecuniary Emotional Management is the ELP class most closely linked to Hochschild's Emotional Labour theory. Bolton states that under this class employees are most likely to become detached, and indeed, alienated from their role and only perform a perfunctory politeness as is necessary. To blame is an aggressive marketing approach and the elevation of consumer status and expectations that the worker has little power or resource to manage. Employee distancing from the emotional performance is seen as one of self-preservation (Bolton, 2005).

Prescriptive Emotion Management is described as more complex than Pecuniary Emotion Management. Feeling rules stem from membership of a professional body

and are connected to an ideal social status. Here status which comes with the employment role (such as doctor or lawyer) is enjoyed, and therefore to be live up to as in idealised image. There may also be a genuine motivation to care for or to serve people in a public service profession, possibly creating conflicting emotion work. However, there is a need to balance the feeling rules of the profession against the demands of public policy. Still, Bolton (2005) states that here there is more likely to be the expression of authentic emotion.

Presentational and Philanthropic Emotion Management are engagement with social feeling rules. They take their power from moral commitment to maintain social stability and a sense of security for individuals. This can be created through sub-cultures, or informal work groups, where workers establish a way (new or existing) to fit in with organisational ways of being. However, the activity that is found to be permissible in these groups is often misbehaviour. This is described as game playing or taking unauthorised breaks in groups to generally let of steam.

Philanthropic Emotion Management is similar to that of Hochschild's gift – where the employee goes beyond the bounds of organisational expectation in providing effort in emotion work. An act that seeks to restore balance and reciprocity between employee, employer and client (Hochschild, 1983; Bolton, 2005).

2.4.3 In Response to Bolton.

In addressing Bolton's (2001; 2005; 2009) accusation of over simplification, it is argued in this thesis that the theory of emotional labour is a suitable platform with which to explore the emotions of police officers; it provides a useful language and framework which enables research to investigate more complex permeations of emotion work carried out by officers. It also allows the articulation of phenomena, not only to a wider academic audience, but also to practitioners and participants, particularly relevant in the present-day context of resource depleted public services and work intensification due to austerity (Dudau and Brunetto; 2019; Lennie et al., 2019).

The argument that emotional labour theory is not fit for use in studying public services is remedied by Hochschild in her 20th anniversary edition of 'The Managed Heart', and by the numerous studies that have used emotional labour to explore emotion work within nursing (Hochschild, 2003; Bolton, 2005; Brook, 2009; Fouquereau et al, 2018). Bolton acknowledges the marketisation of public services and how the sovereignty of the customer and altered public perception has redefined patients as customers and consumers (Bolton, 2005). Bolton recognises that 'though public sector professionals labour is not conducted for the creation of profit, their labour process is now organised and controlled as if it were, and public service management can no long be as clearly differentiated from its commercially motivated counterpart' (Bolton, 2005:128). This point is particularly relevant to the British police service, where reforms over the last twenty years have seen a move to the commodification of policing which now embraces a consumer culture and customer focused orientation (Loader, 1999; Reiner, 2010; Westmarland, 2016; Dudau and Brunetto, 2019).

Although, Bolton (2001; 2003; 2005; 2009) argues that it is time to 'move on' from Hochschild's emotional labour theory and, helpfully, embrace her own theory of the 4P's (Bolton, 2003; 2005; 2009). It is considered that this theory can become over prescriptive and potentially limiting for a study that relies on the reflections of participants to create a shared understanding. As Bolton recognises, emotion work in the work place can be drawn from many different motivations, and the changing landscape of public services see that there is no longer a clear distinction between public and private sector (Dudau and Brunetto, 2019). Bolton states 'it is highly unlikely that their emotion management performances could ever be neatly labelled under one heading' (Bolton, 2005:128). Which does beg the question – are the four P's relevant in todays commercialised society that has seen a move to marketisation in all organisational walks of life? Bolton (2009) argues that Hochschild's description of emotional labour as 'emotion management with a profit motive slipped under it' (Bolton, 2005:51) renders the emotional labour concept inapplicable to public services. As it is, Hochschild is clear that emotional labour does not need to be for a profiting organisation, it needs only to be controlled by a higher power and therefore

produce a controlling effect on the worker (Brook, 2009; Dudau and Brunetto, 2019). Hochschild's (2003) observation of emotional labour was undeniably of front-line public interaction, however, Hochschild (1983) applies 'Marx's wage labour concept, which implies that the pre-condition for the production of emotional labour is fulfilled at the point that workers' labour power converts into wage-labour' (Thompson, 1983 cited in Brook, 2009:10). Therefore, emotional labour is defined at the point where emotion work is performed for a wage, no matter the location or application of the work (Brook, 2009).

The second complaint that is levelled at the emotional labour concept is that it implies that there are no emotions that are not appropriated by capitalism, and that there is no place even within the private sphere of life that is not shaped and controlled by commercial interests (Bolton, 2005). This is argued to be an inaccurate representation of employee experience, and it is countered that workers retain internal autonomy over their authentic emotions (Bolton, 2001; 2003; 2005; Humphrey et al., 2015). As it is, it is this very point that I am particularly interested in: how far do emotion rules apply within a police officer's life? Current research now looks beyond the relationship between customer and employee to examine surface acting and deep acting between co-workers, managers and leaders and how emotional labour affects after work wellbeing (Grandey and Sayre, 2019). Hochschild (2003) is concerned as to the impact that this control of feelings has on identity, and through the concept of 'transmutation of an emotional system' she describes how private and unconscious emotion if affected by 'organisations, social engineering, and the profit motive' (Hochschild, 2003:19). Indeed, we may wonder as to what part of society does escape a capitalist-controlled influence (Yuill, 2005)?

This point is highlighted by Yuill (2005) when examining the health consequences of capitalist alienation, arguing that 'capitalism alienation does not stop at the front door as an experience that is left behind at the end of the working day… alienation weaves through everything in life' (Yuill, 2005:132). If we examine how identity is constructed socially, as Hochschild (1983) does when examining airlines depiction of flight attendants in television commercials, we can begin to understand how feeling and display rules may permeate the life of an employee, beyond the confines of the

employee/client interaction. As so often people create their identity, and the identity of others, through their work, so too do they raise expectations as to how they should behave emotionally. This is not limited to the commercial industry; by way of media representation we are all aware of how we expect nurses, doctors and teachers to behave - whether within or out of the work environment (Yuill, 2005). As it is, emotional labour is not performed within the confines of working hours - a point that is well articulated through the consideration of the Police Code of Ethics (2014, College of Policing), which dictates police officer off duty behaviour.

As it is, very few occupations are carried out for the simple goal of humanistic self-realization, there is little un-alienated labour that occurs in our current society (Yuill, 2005). In line with Bolton (2005) it is suggested that all walks of life (and within life) are valued based on profit, and open to exploitation: there is a profit motive in all emotional labour, and the control over emotional display is no less (or perhaps more) for public servants than the barista who served me my coffee this morning. However, I do agree that this is different for each role, which is why I find this study particularly necessary. Therefore, and in line with Brook's (2009) assertion, this study seeks to advance the concept of Hochschild's original emotional labour through the interpretative study of emotion in policing, and, in the words of Bolton I shall jump on the 'emotional labour bandwagon' (Bolton, 2005:89).

Much of the research around emotional labour focusses on human service occupations, where empathy is an important element of work (Wharton, 1999). However, the demands of emotional labour can mean that workers can become 'robotic, detached, and un-empathetic' (Wharton, 1999:162). Raphaeli and Sutton (1989) also raise the issue of employee well-being, citing not only the financial implications of turnover, absence and loss in productivity for physically and mentally ill employees, they also quite rightly raise the humanistic considerations and the ethical responsibility for organisations. Indeed, so devastating are the potential outcomes of emotional labour that Grandey et al. (2015) have highlighted this 'dark side of emotional labour' claiming that it 'violates basic human rights' (Grandey et al., 2015:781). However, this is countered by a number of studies that argue for the 'bright side of emotional labour' (Humphrey et al., 2015). Grandey et al., (2015)

identify the Dark Side of emotional labour and question whether emotional labour is necessary, particularly considering the human cost. The authors acknowledge that there can be benefits of being required to display positive emotions - but only if they are authentic. This is in part supported by current research (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016; Kwak et al., 2018).

Making their argument, Grandey et al. (2015) cite Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) who examined the physical outcomes of emotional labour. Schaubroeck and Jones (2000) carried out a quantitative study using psychological measures of trait effect as well as emotional labour, via emotional dissonance. They identified that the greater the perception employees hold that they are required to supress or express emotion, the greater the adverse effect on their physical health; particularly if the requirement was to express positive emotions, and again - when in a job that the employee did not identify with. This brings the focus back to emotional dissonance. Authenticity here seems key - emotional labour would seem at its most unhealthy when emotions required by the organisation are not representative of authentic beliefs. Grandey et al. (2015) also highlight the contrast between the requirement to display positive emotions in negative workplace conditions; and note the dissonance and emotional depletion from regulating emotions over a period of time. Grandey et al, (2015) question (as such are the consequences of emotional labour) whether it is ethical to require such work of employees? As it is, organisations undervalue the toll of emotional labour on individuals. Grandey et al. (2015) assert that the positive outcomes (customer relations) are outweighed by the costs of emotional effort and the depletion of emotional resources that individual employees experience.

In response, Grandey et al. (2015) suggest a humanistic approach to emotions in the work place; arguing for different benefits of allowing employees to express true emotions, such as frustration, and employees and customers suffering consequences of either of their behaviour (putting the emotional responsibility on the customer as well). Through this, employees would develop a sense of personal worth and value to their authentic emotions and in doing so this would reduce dissonance and dissociation (as well as burnout), which I suggest is essential to police officer's processing of emotions. However, Grandey et al. (2015) suggest that where it is not

possible to reduce emotional labour - this work should be recognised by the organisation through employee support (rather than managerial control) and in doing so acknowledge the value of the employee's authentic emotions and emotion work.

In contrast Humphrey et al. (2015) draw out the Bright Side of emotional labour. Though they acknowledge that surface acting can be stressful for employees and can cause 'emotional dissonance and a loss of ones' sense of authentic self' (Humphrey et al. 2015:749). They also make the argument that deep acting can be enjoyable and beneficial to both individual and organisation. They give the example of the sexualisation of the air industry and its employees and how the air hostess is a glamorous image which individuals enjoy (Humphrey et al., 2015). However, this could also be interpreted as an example of how we can subjugate ourselves to often hidden and unacknowledged power (Foucaut, 1986; Gutting, 2005). Hochschild (1979) observes how such emotional workers are more likely to perceive and be more detached from the rules governing deep acting. However, Humphrey et al. (2015) choose to cite Shuler and Sypher's (2000) observations of 911 dispatch workers to support their argument: here it was found that dispatchers found the emotional labour aspects of their work to be 'fun' and 'exciting'. I would argue that this paper in itself makes a weak argument for the positive aspects of emotional labour, and what they describe is actually depersonalisation and desensitisation. I examine this paper below.

2.4.4 Spontaneous and Genuine Emotional Labour.

Humphrey et al. (2000) go on to argue for the primacy of display rules, as they argue that organisations cannot control unobservable feelings and therefore feeling rules are less likely to be observed and therefore unlikely to affect the employee. They also argue for a third form of emotional labour (other than surface or deep acting) 'spontaneous and genuine emotional labour' (Humphrey et al., 2000:751). It is this emotional labour that they contend does not create emotional dissonance (Ashforth

and Humphrey, 1993; Humphrey et al., 2000). However, Morris and Feldman (1996), Ogbonna and Harris (2004) and Lennie (2020 forthcoming) recognise this aspect of emotional labour as the effort required to express required emotions, even when those emotions are congruent with an individual's authentic experienced emotion; recognising the labour required to display and outwardly express emotions, even though they may be internally felt. This is in line with Hocschild's (1983) recognition in her original study of the hard work that goes into the management of emotion as an organisational product, and that this can still cause alienation from the self (Bolton, 2009; Brooks, 2009).

Humphrey et al. (2015) go on to cite Grandey (2000) for identifying how deep acting can actually be beneficial. However, the question begs whether this is context specific? Indeed, one study that Humphrey et al. (2015) rely on (Húsheger and Schewe, 2011:361) describe the work conducted for deep acting, and state that employees to meet this goal may 'direct attention toward a pleasurable thing or thoughts to stir up the required emotion'. This would indicate that the emotion that is required to be deep acted is always positive. A point that is not reflected in a number of occupations (doctors, nurses, teachers, undertakers, police officers, judges, social workers, et c.). Indeed, despite noting the power of positive and *negative* emotions, Húlsheger and Scheme, (2011) fail to consider deep acting negative emotions (such as that required when delivering a death message) and therefore provide a biased conclusion that deep acting is beneficial to employees, however, this is a conclusion which Humphrey et al. (2015) choose to rely on in their argument.

Humphrey et al. (2015) call on Shuler and Sypher (2000) in making their argument for emotional labour. Shuler and Sypher (2000) observed and interviewed 17 civilian dispatchers working in a county communication (emergency services dispatch) centre, Midwest USA. Shuler and Sypher (2000:64) identified feeling rules that looked for neutrality and a display of 'dispassionate authority and status'. This was whilst dispatchers were also required to supress emotions of panic. This resulted in a doubled-up effort, as dispatchers attempted not to sound stressed as well as remaining in control of the call. Here 'emotional neutrality' is identified as an

accomplishment (Shuler and Sypher, 2000). Indeed, dispatchers also articulated feeling that they cannot express their distress with their colleagues – although they acknowledge that this does not feel natural to them. However, it was identified that this display rule was strictly enforced, and emotional expression was considered a pathology in need of professional support (as expressed by supervisors) (Schuler and Sypher, 2000).

It is a surprise that this is a study that Humphrey et al. (2015) chose to rely on, and perhaps, not unlike Shuler and Sypher (2000) they seek to highlight the positive aspects observed within the study. As it is dispatchers went on to express supressing frustration with callers who they considered not especially bright and articulated a sense of boredom with their work – that they no longer felt any excitement. Although Shuler and Sypher (2000) note that though this is typical of all jobs, there is a strong sense of dissonance when dispatchers are hoping for a 'good call' to come in, whilst acknowledging that this meant that someone was likely to die or to be in significant danger, including the officers out on the street. At this point it may have been useful to explore the possibility of burnout and/or depersonalisation, as well as emotional dissonance in understanding this behaviour. However, possibly depersonalised behaviour is described as a form of 'comic relief' – where callers are described as 'stupid' and 'crazy' (Shuler and Sypher, 2000:67). Again, Shuler and Sypher (2000) identify that dispatchers sometimes struggle to treat the callers with dignity – which begs the question: have they lost their ability to empathise with the human being on the end of the line? The fact that these callers are discussed and ridiculed with colleagues after the fact, would indicate a level of accepted depersonalisation within the communication centres' culture. We are provided with examples of callers with mental health issues ringing into the communication centre that are relayed around the control room – they are referred to as 'crazies' (Shuler and Sypher, 2000): stories are indulged in and there are 'regular' callers who are othered on the basis of their mental health; depersonalised from the humans that they are. Shuler and Sypher (2000:70) describe this as 'having fun with regular callers' where 'the highlight of the day would be a funny one'. This is viewed as the 'bright side' of emotional labour.

Shuler and Sypher (2000) move onto examine the emotional labour carried out when there is a serious crime in progress. This is viewed as the exciting aspect of the role – something that is welcomed and looked forward to; dispatchers looked forward to working shifts that contained more serious incidents despite the fact that this could mean injury or loss of life to a member of the public or officer. However, this is recognised as an unhealthy response ('sick' and 'twisted', Shuler and Sypher, 2000:74) by dispatchers, and they appreciate that they have a need for the adrenaline and the challenge to keep calm in such situations. The retelling of these stories also reframes the roles that the dispatchers carry out – painting their work as more exciting than mundane. Shuler and Sypher (2000) argue that emotional labour can be seen as both alienating as well as exhilarating.

However, the level of alienation that the dispatchers display is of concern. Indeed, Shuler and Sypher (2000) go on to discuss how dispatchers take solace in the knowledge that they might help people – however, in doing so they use quotes from several dispatchers that describe themselves, or are described as, 'burned out' (2000:75). However, they state that the altruistic rewards of helping someone make up for the repercussions of emotional labour. Though Shuler and Sypher (2000) argue that not all emotional labour is bad, it is my consideration that they are confusing emotional labour with maladaptive coping strategies – laughing at another's misfortune or stupidity is a form or distancing emotionally. Keeping calm during adrenaline fuelled incidents is a form of emotional suppression. Being altruistic is a form of personal reward – recreating a balance for the emotional effort that is given to the work. One element of interest that is drawn out is the ability to surface act voice only, whilst pulling faces at colleagues. I wonder, who are workers faking to? Do the display rules say you mustn't be sympathetic to people who have mental health challenges - and therefore the facial display to colleagues is the surface acting, or is it the verbalised sympathy to the caller the act? I feel that this would have been a useful and interesting point to explore.

As it is, the complexity of emotional labour is such that the study of one industrial group cannot be said to be representative of all employees. A point explored in depth by Fouquereau et al. (2018) who identified that it was not only the intensity and

duration of emotional labour engagement that affected employee wellbeing, but perceived support from supervisors and the wider organisation, available resources, and job demands.

2.5 Psychological Consequences.

Emotional Labour has been linked to a number of health-related outcomes such as 'loss of memory, depersonalization, job stress, hypertension, heart disease, emotional exhaustion, and burnout' (Jeung et al., 2018:188). Indeed, the extent of emotional regulation that an employee engages in is related to 'stress-induced physiological arousal, as well as job strain, which are manifested in the form of poor work attitudes and burnout' (Jeung et al., 2018:188). Within her original study Hochschild identified the difference between display and true feeling as 'emotive dissonance' (1983) describing how 'maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain' (Hochchild, 1983:90) and eventually burnout (Stenross and Kleinman, 1989; Pogrebin and Poole, 1991; Brotheridge and Lee, 2003).

Within this section I will examine the psychological outcomes of emotional labour exploring emotional dissonance and burnout. Drawing on the similarity between dissociation and emotional labour in terms of emotional numbing and distancing, I will then look at the links between dissociation in the police and PTSD, and how this may be linked to emotional dissonance as an outcome of emotional labour (Aaron, 2000; American Psychological Association, 2013).

2.5.1 Emotional Dissonance.

Emotional dissonance is often considered a corner stone of emotional labour theory. Hochschild (1983) identifies emotional dissonance as the discrepancy between authentic emotions and the emotion that is required by organisational feeling and display rules (Brotheridge and Lee, 2002: van Gelderen et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2015). Emotional dissonance has been linked to anxiety, stress, diminished subjective psychological wellness, and burnout over the long term (Zapf, 2002; Morris and

Feldman, 1996; Jeung et al., 2018). Emotional dissonance is also described as cognitive dissonance (Hochschild, 1983).

Leon Festinger (1962) first identified cognitive dissonance as a lack of consistency within an individual due to a conflict of beliefs, opinion or knowledge about their self or their environment. Cognitive dissonance is considered a significant contributor to stress and burnout (Kenworthy et al., 2014; Grandey et al., 2015; Riley and Weiss, 2016). 'Not being able to feel what one should feel may cause the individual to feel false and hypocritical and, in the long run, may lead to the alienation from one's own emotions, poor self-esteem, and depression' (Zapf, 2002:245) and, in a sense, is a form of person-role conflict and can lead to a sense of 'self-alienation' (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Kenworthy et al., 2014).

2.5.2 Burnout.

Reviewing thirty-five years of research into burnout Schaufeli et al. (2009:205) refer to the metaphor of burnout as 'the draining of energy…the smothering of a fire or the extinguishing of a candle.' When Maslach and Jackson (1981) first developed the multi-dimensional construct of burnout it struck a chord both with both the psychological community and practitioners who related to the commonality of the burnout experience. Indeed, in countries with evolved social support systems, burnout has been developed into an accepted medical diagnosis (Schaufeli et al., 2009).

Initially Maslach and Jackson defined burnout as 'a syndrome of emotional exhaustion and cynicism that occurs frequently among individuals who do 'people-work' placing burnout firmly in the arena of human service workers (Maslach and Jackson, 1981:99). However, it is more latterly recognised as a phenomenon relating to other forms of work, such as managers, entrepreneurs or mentors, or those in the creative industries. As a result, the concept of burnout became more centred on the notion of a depletion of resources that support psychological coping (Schaufeli et al., 2009). This recognition of burnout as a wide spread phenomenon across all occupations has been attributed to a number of cultural developments. Firstly, with the professionalisation of traditional helping professions that were once viewed as

vocational or as a 'calling', where workers engaged in social commitment and shared collective values. These roles became a source of disillusion as personal values clashed with organisational and institutional utilitarian values. This has gone on to erode employee resilience as individuals view 21st century mission statements and organisation values with scepticism. Indeed, present-day public-sector organisations often espouse ideals that are beyond the reach of their limited resources. This imbalance of demand and resources creates exhaustion and reduces the sense of personal achievement and professional efficacy in the workforce (Potter et al., 2007 cited in Schaufeli et al., 2009). Next came the empowerment of the individual and the loss of professional authority of occupations such as nursing, teaching and police officers. This saw an increase in expectation and demand for service, empathy and compassion – increasing emotional demands on the individual service provider whilst also creating a reduction in recognition of effort and gratitude. Indeed, a lack of reciprocity is known to contribute to burnout at three levels of social exchange – with recipients, colleagues, and the organisation (Schaufeli, 2006). Lastly is the breakdown of traditional institutions and social communities such as the church, neighbourhoods and families as a result of 'flexible capitalism' (Sennett, 1998 cited in Schaufeli et al., 2009:207). This has led to a social fragmentation where community support has been eroded in favour of individualism, leading to individuals creating their own personal and occupational identity as society no longer provides them an established and shared definition. As a result, a 'narcissistic culture' has developed where individuals are self-absorbed and demand immediate gratification, but ultimately remain unsatisfied (Lash, 1979 cited in Schaufeli et al., 2009:208).

Maslach and Jackson (1979) began their exploration into burnout whilst studying 142 American police officers and their families, where they became interested in their cognitive coping strategies. The study explored how police officers struggled to deal with the emotional consequences of their work; the psychological impact that this had on them, and how this transferred into the family home. They found that officers that experienced burnout were more often angry with their wives and their children than those that were not burned-out, whereas those suffering emotional exhaustion wanted to be alone and became emotionally-distant from their families. Along with

research into other human service professions, Maslach and Jackson developed a rich picture of how individuals lost their energy and the sense of meaning they once took from their work; highlighting how emotional exhaustion, depersonalisation and personal accomplishment are all linked (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Hawkins 2001; Schaufeli et al., 2009).

From this Maslach and Jackson (1981) developed the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI), which is recognized as the leading measure of burnout, and has been translated and validated in numerous languages (Iwanicki and Schwab, 1981; Maslach et al., 1996, Maslach and Leiter, 2016). Through conducting extensive in-depth interviews and using an iterative process to explore the rich data, Maslach and Jackson (1981) designed the MBI instrument which identifies a three-dimensional construct (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Schaufeli et al., 2009):

- Emotional Exhaustion (EE)
- Depersonalisation (DP)
- Diminished Personal Accomplishment (PA)

(Maslach and Jackson, 1981).

Emotional Exhaustion is described as a feeling 'of being overextended and depleted of one's emotional and physical resources' (Maslach and Leiter, 2016:351). Employees may feel drained and lacking in energy to face the day or the people that they service. **Depersonalisation** is also referred to as cynicism, which is a negative and hostile attitude, linked to a loss of idealism – and is often in response to Emotional Exhaustion. Depersonalisation can begin as a form of self-protection and emotional buffer but can lead to dehumanisation and lead to employees feeling that their clients deserve their life situations (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Hawkins, 2001; Maslach and Leiter, 2016). **Diminished Personal Accomplishment** is also referred to as Professional Inefficacy and is experienced in a decline in confidence in personal competence and productivity. Employees will have a growing sense of inadequacy and inability to carry out their role (Maslach and Leiter, 2016). Also, Maslach and Jackson (1979; 1981; Hawkins, 2001) found that high scores of burnout were indicative of employee intention to quit. Burnout is also related to decreased job

performance and physical and mental health problems, and therefore is the concern of both the individual and the organisation (Jeung et al., 2018).

The original study into police officers by Maslach and Jackson (1979) has since been partially replicated by Hawkins (2001) with 442 officers in four police departments. In this study more than 1/3 of officers scored high for emotional exhaustion and over 50% scored high on depersonalisation, for lack of personal accomplishment again, 1/3 of officers were high (Hawkins, 2001). Indeed, there are many studies that examine burnout in police officers (Van Gelderen et al., 2007; Chapman, 2009; Houdmont; 2013; Kenworthy et al., 2014). A more recent study into the relationship between psychosocial hazards exposure and burnout in UK custody officers found that almost half of participants were suffering with high emotional exhaustion, and a similar figure for depersonalisation, whilst almost 66% were found to experience low personal accomplishment (Houdmont, 2013).

Burnout and emotional labour have been explored in a number of studies (Chapman, 2009; Morris and Feldman, 1996; Zpaf, 2002). Morris and Feldman (1996) found that employees experienced burnout when engaging with emotional dissonance for an extended period of time, a position supported by Zapf (2002) who found emotional dissonance to be positively associated with burnout (Jeung et al, 2008). In reviewing the extant literature on burnout as a consequence of emotional labour Jeung et al. (2018) found indications that the complexity of interactions, through confliction and tensions between emotional display requirements, were most likely to increase likelihood of burnout via the resulting emotional dissonance. However, a shortage in supervisor support and preventative systems also contributed to this outcome. Grandey et al., (2004) found that customer aggression positively related to emotional exhaustion, with those threatened by customer aggression more likely to engage with surface acting – a useful study as it can be assumed that police officers experience their fair share of customer aggression. As it is, Jeung et al. (2018), argue that the differing factors of emotional labour in predicting burnout have not been sufficiently addressed.

2.5.3 Dissociation, Depersonalisation and PTSD

Dissociation, including depersonalisation and derealisation, within police officers was examined by Aaron (2000), and is described as a form of psychological avoidance: 'the splitting off from awareness, thoughts, feelings, or memories' (Aaron, 2000:439). Using the Dissociative Experiences Scale (DES) (Bernstein and Putnam, 1986) and the Police Stress Survey (Spielberger et al., 1980, cited in Aaron:439) to measure occurrences of dissociation in sample of 42 police officers, Viginia, USA, dissociation in police officers is found to be a maladaptive coping strategy leading to poor psychological outcomes (Aaron, 2000). Importantly it was found that it was not the stressor that led to an increase in negative outcome, but the avoidant style of coping that led to increased psychological distress.

Indeed, Aaron (2000) found that there is a clear association between stress and dissociation:

> 'officers who employ such defences are more likely than those who acknowledge the effect of stressors to develop subsequent psychological or psychiatric difficulties. Conversely, those who engage in the difficult and challenging task of confronting the thoughts and feelings that are a by-product of some aspects of police work can expect healthier outcomes' (Aaron, 2000:446).

There is broad acceptance that humans have a need to understand the world around them; we do this through creating a narrative that makes sense of our environment and events within our lives. Narrating a story to another requires a coherent structure of speech - this can enable the simplification of a story and therefore enable our own understanding of events: this allows us to move beyond the experience (Pennebaker and Seagal, 1999). Expressing emotions related to a traumatic event whilst in safe and supportive setting provides therapeutic relief, as it is found that individuals who disclose traumatic experience have fewer intrusive thoughts and PTSD symptomology. Indeed, long term benefits of emotional expression are quickly realised (within two weeks of initial disclosure) in comparison to those who do not

express their authentic emotions; this includes improved immune system function, and physical and mental well-being (Pennebaker and Seagal, 1999).

However, research has identified how the culture around emotional expression can impede voluntary disclosure due to a sense of shame attached to emotional display, as this can be seen as a lapse of self-control. Individuals who operate in a culture of stigma and shame are less likely to benefit from emotional expression or engage in therapeutic opportunities with any conviction (Kennedy-Moore and Watson, 2001). Overall, emotional expression allows cognitive processing as a way towards self-acceptance and understanding. However, maladaptive expression can lead to feelings of shame and can impair social relationships if the culture does not support expression (Kennedy-Moore and Watson, 2001).

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders fifth edition (DSM-5) identifies dissociative disorders to be characterised by 'a disruption of and/or discontinuity in the normal integration of consciousness, memory, identity, emotion, perception, body representation, motor control, and behaviour' (American Psychiatric Association, 2013:291). Within the DSM-5 dissociative disorders are purposefully placed next to trauma and stressor related disorders in order to reflect the close relationship between the two diagnostic categories. Indeed, previous studies have found that dissociative tendencies in combat and emergency service personnel were associated with increased symptomatic distress and stress (Weiss et al., 1992; Marma et al., 1996).

The diagnosis of dissociation disorder includes depersonalisation/derealisation disorder (Bernstein and Putnam, 1986; Holtgraves and Stockdale, 1996; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The DSM-5 provides diagnostic features such as being detached from the self or aspects of the self, such as feelings (hypoemotionality), giving examples such as: "I know I have feelings but I don't feel them" (American Psychiatric Association, 2013:302). When experienced at the extreme, dissociation disorder also includes depersonalisation, which may present as a split self with one part observing and one participating. However, depersonalisation also consists of symptomology such as emotional and physical numbing, which can be accompanied with a sense of lack of agency and feeling robotic; presenting as a robotic demeanour,

hypo-emotionality with others, and hypo-reactivity to emotional stimuli (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This description reflects the findings of research into the dark side of emotional labour where employees become 'robotic, detached, and un-empathetic' (Wharton, 1999:162).

Examining trauma experience and PTSD through a multivariate study, Briere et al. (2005) looked at dissociation combined with experienced trauma. Within the study they controlled for trauma type and intensity of distress. The findings demonstrated that dissociation occurring around the time of the experienced trauma (peritraumatic) may interfere with encoding and processing of memories, thereby increasing the likelihood of PTSD. It was also identified that ongoing dissociation would likely have an even bigger effect, disrupting processing for a longer period. Indeed, dissociation is widely considered an integral element of PTSD.

Continuing their research Briere et al. (2005) examined generalised dissociation, which is dissociation occurring before trauma, and found that it is particularly damaging for those exposed to repeated trauma, as is persistent dissociation (after the event) which has a stronger link to PTSD than peritraumatic dissociation. Both peritraumatic and persistent dissociation contribute to PTSD by blocking normal trauma processing. However, persistent dissociation is more relevant to the onset of PTSD (Briere et al., 2005).

Indeed, it was found that persistent dissociation was a stronger predictor of chronic PTSD than peritraumatic dissociation. Persistent dissociation at four weeks was found to be a significant predictor of PTSD severity at 6 months. Although peritraumatic dissociation may put individuals at risk of PTSD, this affect can be compensated through post event processing - only, those that continue to dissociate are at high risk of persistent problems. (Murray et al., 2002).

Considering Aaron's (2000) findings it could be considered that the high levels of dissociation in police officers (as a maladaptive coping strategy and consequence of trauma work) could not only contribute to officers diagnosed with PTSD but could also prevent post event processing and therapeutic interventions, where necessary.

Indeed, this presents significant implications for treatment. At present exposure-based treatment has the strongest support for the treatment of PTSD, for this to be successful patients need to be able to emotionally engage with trauma treatment - typically involving recalling trauma events. Dissociative PTSD can reduce treatment effectiveness due to lack of emotional engagement and emotional numbing, also found to block emotional learning. Resick et al. (2012) supporting this theory found that patients suffering dissociative PTSD, who were potentially dissociating at time of event need lengthy therapeutic help reconstructing the trauma event memory prior to commencing the PTSD treatment.

Building upon these findings, Lanius et al. (2010) identified the dissociative subtype of PTSD (Ross, 2018). They identify dissociation as a disruption and fragmentation of usually integrated functions of consciousness, memory, identity, body awareness, and perception of the self and the environment. It is a detachment from the overwhelming emotional content of experience of trauma. Often it gives sense of compartmentalisation and leads to cognitive fragmentation or emotional detachment from trauma. PTSD patients with prolonged trauma experience (eg combat trauma) are characterized by dissociation. Lanius et al. (2006) conducted experiment using functional MRI to image utilization of brain regions whilst reading a script the participants had previously written about their trauma. Two significant responses were recorded: 70% of patients showed subjective experience of reliving their trauma and an increase of heart rate; 30% had a dissociative response and showed depersonalisation, derealisation and no increase in heart rate.

Typically, patients suffering PTSD will show emotional under modulation (an inability or tendency to emotionally regulate) and hyperarousal, and responses will include subjective reliving of trauma (flashback). Those experiencing dissociative PTSD displayed abnormally high emotional modulation and regulation in response to trauma memories, including subjective disengagement from emotional content of trauma memory though depersonalisation or derealisation. Further investigation showed 'dissociation is a regulatory strategy invoked to cope with extreme arousal in PTSD' (Lanius et al., 2010:642) and involved hyper inhibition of limbic region (amygdala) and decrease in activity of hippocampus resulting in memory

suppression. Also, Lanius et al. report that 'once the threshold of anxiety is reached the prefrontal cortex inhibits emotional processing in limbic structures (amygdala) which in turn leads to a dampening of sympathetic output and reduced emotional experiencing' (Lanius et al., 2010:643).

This article argues that the neurobiological model of dissociative PTSD that they have identified is consistent with the phenomenological and clinical presentation of dissociative PTSD. Complex PTSD (repetitive exposure to trauma) linked to dissociation and emotion dysregulation. Lanius et al. (2010) also propose that there are two forms of PTSD: hyper aroused and dissociative - and they cannot be lumped together.

Furthering the clinical study of PTSD and dissociation Ross et al. (2018) examined the DSM 5 diagnosis of PTSD: subtype dissociation, which is classified as PTSD plus depersonalisation and/or derealisation - out of body experiences and feelings of unreality respectively. Individuals who were experiencing dissociative PTSD exhibited more severe symptoms of reckless or self-destructive behaviour. Perhaps a reflection of Lanius et al. (2010) findings. Ross et al. (2018) argue that these behaviours could be better predictors of dissociative PTSD. Indeed, they propose that anger and anxiety are significant predictors of dissociative PTSD, with anxiety an important risk factor for dissociative PTSD and anger significantly associated with dissociation, even after controlling for PTSD.

Considering the conceptualisation of emotional labour as the suppression of authentic feelings in order to comply with feeling and display rules, and the symmetry of this with dissociative behaviour in terms of emotional numbing and distancing, this thesis explores the proposition that emotional labour increases the risk of PTSD symptomology in police officers through increased peritraumatic, persistent and generalised dissociation.

2.6 Police in the Public Eye – the Media, Identity and Emotional labour.

The media can play a significant role in defining what customers expect of certain job roles, redefining and communicating feeling rules and increasing the burden on the individual employees who are expected to supress their authentic emotions and personal values, when in conflict with the emotional expectations of customers, employers, and wider society (Grandey et al. 2015). For British police officers who are born into a county where the image of the police officer has become a cultural symbol of 'Best of British', alongside Big Ben, a red phone box, or number 10 Downing Street; it is difficult to resist, or even recognise, the power of this image as it is implanted within the social collective memory (Innes, 2003; Mawby, 2003; Colbran, 2014; Charman, 2017).

The social constructionist approach to emotional labour 'encourages an understanding of emotion as constructed by and managed within the constraints of interaction, communication and local social norms' (Tracy, 2000:94). This view argues that the way we draw meaning to our experiences is through relationships; constructing our 'identities in organisations... through discursive practices; through rules, behaviours and meaning systems' (Mumby and Putnam, 1992:466; Gergen, 1999). For emotional labour, this can be seen in the relationship between the individual, organisation, wider society and the media. Feelings and display rules are constructed through societal, occupational and organizational norms (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989).

Indeed, we live in a historic era defined by social theorists as the 'information age', where mediated communication is a central facet of the wider community, and the lines between public and private information are blurred (Innes, 2003). In her book examining the Media Representations of Police and Crime, Colbran (2014) discusses the 'circuit of culture', whereby the construction of meaning is a 'socially structured process' where in the understanding of the communication process is key. Drawing on several sources (Hall, 1980; Johnson, 1986; Du Gay et al., 1997) Colbran (2014) articulates the cyclical process of communication examining the television

production process, and argues that although the audience is the receiver within the cycle, they are also the source via a skewed feedback process, whereby media creators draw on conventional wisdom on the desired topic, feeding it back into culture and communication circuit (Colbran, 2014). The above points to a hermeneutic quality of understanding which I pick up again in the methodological section of this thesis, where I explore how police officers self-constructed narrative of emotional expression reflects that of the socially created police identity (Frewin et al., 2006; Mallatt and Wapshott, 2012).

2.6.1 Identity.

The influence of different forms of media on individual and group identity is also recognised in 'identity politics' (Gergen, 1999:43) which is concerned with our daily acts, how others interpret them and how this informs our reputation. As stated by Dyer (1993:1): 'how social groups are treated in cultural representation is part and parcel of how they are treated in life'. In her paper proceeding 'The Managed Heart' Hochschild (1979) explores the socially created appropriateness of emotions and how emotions are not examined discreetly, but in comparison to the 'social yardstick' that is provided for us by society (Hocschild, 1979:560). It is from this perspective that I wish to consider the social construction of feeling rules on behalf of the police service (Tracey, 2000).

When social groups are depicted within the various public media, these identities become not just an issue of reputation 'they come to be the taken-for-granted realities' (Gergen, 1999:42) where we recognise ourselves not only in our own identity narrative, but within the stories told by others (Mallett and Wapshott, 2012). The narratives of the archetypal burned out detective, or hard-boiled policeman, are often employed in both literary fiction and film; entering the public psyche as an almost accepted norm (Dick; 1969; Moore, 2006; Mankell, 2002; Cummins and King, 2017). As articulated by Cummins and King (2017:832) the 'Criminal Justice System is a part of society that is both familiar and hidden'. The majority of public knowledge construction of the police and crime is through media sources; newspapers, television news coverage, fictional and reality crime programmes, movie and

literature; with little awareness taken from actual direct contact or personal experience (Dowler and Zawilski, 2007; Surette, 2007; Huey, 2010; Cummins and King, 2015; Rantatalo, 2016). Reiner (2012) in writing for the Handbook of Policing highlighted the Policing for London survey that found 80% of respondents identified the media as their principal source of understanding of the police. In 2005 Sir Ian Blair, former commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Service, quipped that the public was taking an NVQ in policing - called The Bill (Reiner, 2012). However, Dyer (1993:3) goes a step further in arguing that 'there is no such thing as unmediated access to reality'. Ironically enough, in the 2000's the producers of The Bill were given greater freedom to focus on stories rather than authenticity, in the light of heightened competition. Indeed, research shows the impact that television viewing can have on public attitude and behaviour, including increases in violence and suicide in response to publicised murders and documentaries on suicide (Maquire, 1988). Indeed, there must be a reason why advertisers invest so much on television commercials (Maguire, 1988). As Reiner (2010) states; policing is undoubtedly affected by media representation, which is undoubtedly distorted (Leishman and Mason, 2003).

Since the Second World War crime and criminal justice has played an increasingly prominent role in mass media content, with a significant increase over the last half century (Allen et al., 1998; Reine, 2002; Reiner, 2012). However, with the introduction of reality and infotainment television shows the lines between fact and fiction have become even more blurred; intensified through the continual looping and distorting of content (Leishman and Mason, 2003; Mawby, 2003; Surette, 2007; Cummins and King, 2017). Violent offences are disproportionately represented in comparison to crime statistics, as is the success of police investigations, presenting an image that is a lot less mundane than the general tedious police officer experience (Bahn, 1984; Reiner, 2002; Dowler and Zawilski, 2007; Huey, 2010; Cummins et al., 2014; Charman, 2017). Surette (2007) identifies nine current police narratives deployed in the media: rogue cop, corrupt cop, honest cop, buddy cops, comedy cop, action comedy cop, female cop, and aging cop, and argues that the media narrative no longer needs a criminal justice system, or a wider police department, just the one

good cop played up against the other identities. However, it is not just the way that crime and criminal justice is presented, it is the prevalence of the genre in the media that may increase the impact on the public and police mind: typically, 20% of all films are crime related and over half have significant crime related content. This is almost double for television shows (Reiner, 2002). This is an extensive amount of exposure and representation to inform social and individual identity construction.

Identity work is a self-reflective process where the sense of self is constructed through the interaction with the social environment and systems of meaning, and officers can be expected to construct their occupational identity through the mediated narrative they are exposed to, as do the public they work with and for (Surette, 2007; Mallett and Wapshott, 2012; Rantatalo, 2016). However, no image is more distorted than that of the police officer (Bahn, 1984). It is through officers' identity work, informed from these mediated social realities, that officers may learn how to behave, and construct required emotional responses (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Gergen, 1999; Mallett and Wapshott, 2012; Rantatalo, 2016). Indeed, Rafaeli and Sutton (1989) discuss how societal norms include emotional display rules and how these have a strong regulation on individual situational behaviour.

Identity theory is the dialectic between an inner sense of identity and the outward facing social identity (Mallett and Wapshott, 2012). A process that has distinct similarities to the emotional suppression and outward facing emotional display that is found within emotional labour. Social identity theory is the perception of belonging to a group which will have prototypical characteristics, which individuals will assume. Values, goals, and beliefs are developed in line with the chosen group identity, creating a sense of who an individual is and informing how they ought to behave, creating a pressure on an individual to conform to the group characteristics (Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Mallett and Wapshott, 2012; Charman, 2017). New members of a social group will accentuate behaviours so as to differentiate themselves from the 'out-group' or others (Charman, 2017). Social identity is also a way of defining others through stereotyping (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Through this process individuals can become depersonalised from their

own self-perception through self-stereotyping, which can be a cause of stress and burnout as the authentic inner self struggles to align with the outer social identity (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993; Turner and Oakes, 1994; Schailble, 2018). Again, it can be seen how social identity work has similar processes and outcomes as emotional labour, and it can be accepted that when individuals are assuming social group behaviour, this will also include what emotions they express.

Storytelling, whether through social groups, within organisational settings, or via the public media, will assist to maintain and strengthen these identities and the boundaries between members and others existing outside the social group. This has a looping effect on the individual who will, once classified, adopt more of the behaviours of the identified social group. For a police officer, they may well adapt their behaviour to meet others' expectations of how an officer behaves (Charman, 2017). From this we can see how public expectations of police officer behaviour and identity can be projected onto an individual, directly effecting how they behave.

For police officers, there is a contradiction between officer representation within the media - and the resulting police officer's identity - and the reality of the work that they do (Schailble, 2018). There is also the issue of the extent to which the police identity is extended throughout an officer's life, whereby they are expected to respond to occurrences of crime on and off duty, therefore also governing their identity in different aspects of their life e.g. as a neighbour, mother and friend (Bahn, 1984; Cummins and King, 2015; Lennie, 2018). This construction of social identity has long been the concern of feminist scholars; as articulated by Simone de Beauvoir: 'one is not born but rather becomes a woman... woman, like much else, is a product elaborated by civilization' (Cooper and Fosl, 2010:247; Gergen, 1999). The concern of the postmodern turn with the images and representations that social actors create to signify their reality gives legitimacy to the concept of multiple perspectives (Miller, 2000). Within this concern is the desire to 'raise the visibility and credibility of the voices at the margins' (Miller, 2000:314) a point recommended by Michael Foucault (cited in Miller, 2000:321) who stated that we should seek to 'amplify the voice of the Other'.

This very point of giving voice to the Other resonates with this study and author. The nature of feeling rules, and the social concept of the stoic police officer, has silenced the expression of emotion by police officers and, in turn, compounded the impact of experienced trauma (Rees and Smith, 2008). The positivist nature of research within the area of emotional labour in policing has also quietened those voices, reducing them to numbers and variables. Therefore, it is important to understand how the social stereotyping of police officer identity influences the emotional labour within the police officer role and informs police behaviour and psychological wellbeing. After all, individuals spend a significant amount of time in the work role, and for police officers this role extends into the social and private environment, essentially influencing the emotional identity as a whole (Ashforth and Humphries, 1993; Schailble, 2018).

2.6.2 Social Power and Emotional Labour.

There is a clear role of power in the emotional labour of police officers. According to Foucault, power is not a 'fixed entity or institution, but is incarnated in historical social practices' (Dreyfus, 1996:3).

Foucault (1986:241) talks of a 'society of normalization' where, as the human body became a means of production and mental ill health became a barrier to economic generation, mechanisms of control (such as asylums, psychiatrists and psychiatric diagnosis) were created (Gergen, 1999). Subsequently these mechanisms of control created knowledge, through which power was wielded to control the individual and social standards. Foucault argues that we should examine the agents responsible - the subtleties of power; surveillance, medicalisation of madness or desires, the social entourage - family, doctors, etc. everyday power relationships enabling 'normalisation' (Dreyfus, 1996:9; Gergen, 1999; Foucault, 1986). In identifying insanity as a medical and non-productive state, people have become adept at identifying and quantifying madness, and in doing so, normalised the notion of madness as a counter to healthy (or normal) being (Gutting, 2005). Foucault argues that this is more a moral judgement, and construct of capitalism, than a true medical diagnosis (Gutting, 2005). I argue that emotions are so viewed within the police; as

non-productive, and therefore undesirable. Historically emotions are viewed as feminine, irrational and a weakness, and unnecessary in the masculine world of work (Martin, 1999; Tracy, 2000). This is particularly true of the police, as both policewomen and policemen are restricted from expressing and processing emotions in a historically male dominated, masculine organisation, borne out of a patriarchal society (Martin, 1999; Bullock and Garland, 2018). So too exist the subtleties of power and domination: the feeling and emotional display rules - power dispersed by every day gestures, organisational processes and conversations, representation in media and fiction (Mumby and Putnam, 1992; Martin, 1999; Tracy, 2000). Foucault argues that the individual is complicit in the use of power, in that we subjugate ourselves; that day to day power has become so normalised that we allow ourselves to be dominated and power goes unchallenged, and unseen (Lukes, 1974; Tracy, 2000; Gutting, 2005).

Lukes (1974) takes a similar view of power to Foucualt, which he presents as the *third face* of power; which is power sustained through 'socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour' (Lukes, 1974:22). Quoting Marx, Lukes argues:

> 'Men make their own history but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past'.

(Marx, cited in Lukes, 1974:22)

Understanding the social construct of the police officer architype provides a deeper understanding of the wider social influences that help enforce officer behaviour, where individuals self-stereotype by adopting the characteristics they understand to be prototypical of the desired social identity, also known as Self Categorisation Theory. This can lead individuals to assume the values, culture and climate of an organisation (Haslam, 2014; Ashforth and Mael, 1989). Indeed, social categorisation theory argues that in assuming a social identity, individuals view others in terms of group identity, going through a process of depersonalisation and stereotyping where members of the same social group will be viewed as having the same characteristics (including themselves - depersonalisation), and those in other social groups become

interchangeable with others within that social group (stereotyping). Depersonalisation through assuming a social identity leads to behaviour regulation, it is from this that the first view of feeling and display rules emerges as an aspect of stereotyping on behalf of the public and depersonalisation by the individual officers (Reicher et al., 2010). Not too surprisingly social identity theory has also been recognised for playing a role in individual's psychological health through influencing an individual's ability to deal with challenging or distressing circumstances and structures of social cognition (Haslam, 2014). Social identity theory argues that 'the way in which psychological processes play out is dependent upon social context' (Reicher et al., 2010:46). Typically, social context is expressed and maintained within the media as well as social relations, a point I go on to explore below.

2.7 Police Officers in the Media.

In the main the research to date has focused on the impact of the media on crime and violence, not the impact on the officers or policing, with the focus placed on the increasing fear of crime, outside of crime figures (Allen et al., 1998; Reiner, 2002; Dowler and Zawilski, 2007; Reiner, 2010; Rantatalo, 2016). Extant research has identified how representations of crime and criminality have focussed on serious crimes, and crimes that are likely to be solved - therefore enhancing a favourable image of the police as heroic and implausibly successful. However, in sections of society this has also increased the fear of becoming a victim of serious crime (Allen et al., 1998; Perlmutter, 2000; Reiner, 2002; Reiner, 2010; Rantatalo, 2016). Although a very sad finding, it does go some way to understanding the impact that media representation of police officers can have on officer and public expectation of officer identity and behaviour. Indeed, Dowler and Zawilski (2007) found that the greater the frequency of network news consumption led to the belief in a greater prevalence of police misconduct, which was frequently covered by the media.

In 1998 Allen et al. conducted a broad review of changing media images of crime since Second World War, and the changes in audience responses. In tracking the portrayal of police officers as sympathetic human beings they identified a U-shaped trend. Post 1950's the image of the caring and socially responsible officer (think Dixon

of Dock Green) changed to one of corrupt and violent officers or buffoons (Z-Cars, The Sweeny). However, the 1980's saw a return to the caring police image, as well as the well natured fool, alongside the corrupt and brutal (Juliet Bravo, The Bill, Police Academy, Heart Beat) (Allen et al., 1998; Reiner, 2002).

More recently Rantatalo (2016) looks specifically at identity work in relation to the media representation of police officers. Rantatalo explores the influence of the media on police officer's occupational identity and officer's professional identity narrative. Rantatalo (2016) argues the importance of researching this aspect of media influence due to the high visibility of the police in the media, and the impact this will have on officer's sense making of their occupational identities. One could assume that this effect on the police would be more pronounced than lesser represented occupations. Rantatalo (2016) forms the view that media representations of police act as informal promotional and educational input for serving officers. The study under review looks at the Swedish National Police Counter-Terrorist Unit. This is an all-male unit of operational police officers. 18 semi-structured interviews were constructed following thematic coding of the representations of police operations taken from Swedish newspapers covering the work of the unit. The news coverage was found to be sensationalised, emphasising seriousness and danger, highlighting the elite nature of the individuals making up the unit, and inferring that any incident that they were involved in was by the very association with the unit: dangerous and serious in nature. Officer's opinions were obtained as to how the unit's representation within the media effects public perception and officer behaviour. In interviews officers spoke of the pressure to live up to an exaggerated elite and heroic image presented in the media, and felt somewhat uncomfortable about this - articulating how they tried to act quite humble when in public. Officers also spoke about the pressure of being viewed as the final solution - if they couldn't solve the problem, then who could? Contrastingly, officers spoke of playing down the over aggressive macho, misogynistic image and actively constructing and outwardly articulated display of identity, through distancing and reframing. Interestingly, they noted how differently they were treated by the public

and their own social groups when in the unit, but how this all changed when they returned to 'traditional' policing roles.

In the aptly titled 'I've seen this on CSI' Huey (2010) conducted qualitative interviews of 31 investigators in the Canadian police force. Huey (2010) sought to understand whether police investigators (including scenes of crime as well as detectives) perceived that the media representation of police work negatively influenced public expectations, and whether this led to occupational role strain. The majority of investigators interviewed perceived that police procedural dramas impacted relationship with public - with the public often questioning methods, expertise, or the speed and progress of investigations. In response to public enquiries, investigators adopted three strategies: appeasement through public relations exercises (supressing frustration and carrying out work that would be unlikely to yield results in an attempt to satisfy public requests); opportunity for education (demonstrations and explanations of how techniques work, often denouncing media representation - investigators acknowledge the extra time this involved and the frustration this caused them); and resorting to authority (expressing experience and expert recognition). All of these responses anticipate elements of emotional labour and were found to add demand to the investigator's workload, increase frustration and undermine their position. Investigator's felt that public frustration was fuelled by unrealistic portrayal within the media and consequently reduce public confidence in the police.

Continuing on the theme of misrepresentation, Huey and Broll (2012) examine Canadian police officers views on how they are represented within the media and to what extent media portrayal reflects their lived experience. 31 in depth qualitative interviews were conducted of Canadian police investigators. Generally, participants felt that their work was misrepresented in news coverage. Participants felt that they were portrayed as knuckle draggers and donut eaters, and that they were never portrayed in a positive light. There was a strong sense that news outlets twisted stories to make them more glamorous or high impact - but nevertheless reported them as factual and representing the truth. This led to officers feeling frustrated as they felt that they knew this to be different but struggled to readdress the balance.

Indeed, even when officers were engaged directly with the media they reported feeling misrepresented and often misquoted.

Huey and Broll (2012) conclude that the police do not have the upper hand in the relationship with media (as is so often reported) though they have a desire for an accurate message to be delivered to the public. More often than not they feel misrepresented which leads to them being portrayed in a bad light in the public domain, something they feel unable to control or challenge.

Perlmutter (2000) in his book chapter 'Real Cops and Mediated Cops: Can They 'Get Along'? seeks to understand the relationship between police officers and their mediated kin and explored the consequences along the way. Initially Perlmutter (2000) is quick to identify how police officers are as immersed in mass media representation as the rest of society. Officers are able to understand the commodification of their role and dismiss most portrayals as stereotypical and largely misrepresentations. However, they do somewhat feel curtailed by their ever-present mediated counterpart and often struggle for the understanding of a public that has a different expectation to their experienced reality. However, Perlmutter (2000:121) comments how officers on one hand complain that they 'feel the need somewhat to play their own role in accordance with audience expectations', though in private they too wish to be seen and to see themselves 'in heroic poses and action-packed behaviours'. However, officers often join their profession to engage in activities that television drama and film displays - but find the reality much duller (file prep etc.) and are often critical of how they are portrayed as super human by the media. Officers are also resentful of the time that the public spend with their mediated colleagues - considerably more than the operational reality, and in doing so presume a knowledge of the officer and their work. From this they feel that the public have a lack of appreciation of what challenges the officer faces and often come off as less than successful compared to their counterpart. Perlmutter (2000) discusses how cops are trapped between myth and reality and if real officers are to be understood then not only do they need to be spoken to, but it needs to be understood what it is that they see and are influenced by, and this includes the media and television.

Cummins and King (2017) have produced a very relevant piece of work examining the representation of the police officer on screen and psychological stress. They argue that police culture is informed not only by officer attitudes but is underpinned by the wider society they inhabit and police. They state that as the police are given responsibility of upholding societal values, they therefore believe that they should be the personification of these values. However, this creates a disconnect between officers and their communities, as officers see themselves as outside of society and the communities they are charged to protect. Cummins and King (2017) traced the change in last fifty years of on-screen representation of policing alongside literature on police culture and stress. They find that typically the representation of officers has gone from 'married to the job' to 'broken by the job', and there is a significant increase in police officers who lives are 'broken' as a result of the stress and experience of dealing with the distressing elements of police work and society, until this is now the prevailing media image. Cummins and King (2017) argue that these representations can be viewed as classic cases of PTSD - though this is never acknowledged by the officers under consideration. Burnout is represented within the genre and characters are leading chaotic lives fuelled by alcohol, with marriages broken down. Indeed, there has been a recent move to the representation of vicarious trauma and the framing of PTSD with officers unable to forget the horrors that they have borne witness too. Cummins and King (2017) pick out a particular quote from Wallander: 'good cops can't quit, they allow themselves to be ground down without doing a thing to stop it. The job absorbs you. You don't even notice you are losing your wife and child.' (Mankel, 2005 cited in Cummins and King, 2017:844). This quote begs the question: what message does this send to our officers watching - or those thinking of joining? How do we measure success - is this what a good cop looks like? Schiable (2018) argues that this over identification of the police role, to the detriment and neglect of officers' other identities within their lives (ie mother/father, parent, friend et c.), increases the chances of burnout. Cummins and King (2017) argue the imperative for further work to be carried out in this area to explore these issues and concerns. I agree this need for further work, particularly considering the mental ill-health sickness figures experienced by British police forces; it would indeed seem that there are many that are 'broken by the job'.

Cummins et al. (2014), as part of a larger project, conducted a pilot study exploring the attitude of retired police officers to representation of the police in popular culture. A link between police officers' behaviour and television dramas was identified with one participant noting how his team began adopting some of the mannerisms of the lead characters of The Sweeney but was quick to state that it was a superficial influence and did not alter how they carried out their work. However, another participant expressed concern that there is a new generation of officers that are so heavily influenced by the media that it has formed part of their learning cycle. Participants also accepted that public perception changed as a result of media portrayal and coverage of the police.

To date there has been little in the way of research into the effect of media portrayal of police officers on police officers themselves. For the main part sociologists and criminologists have concerned themselves with the impact of media, portraying crime and the criminal justice, on the public, public fear of crime, and crime itself. This is despite it being clear that officer's (and prospective officers) understanding of what it is to be a police officer, how they are to behave, and how others will view them, is largely (if not entirely for some prospective officers) determined by the media. The studies that have been conducted (Cummins et al., 2014; Cummins and King, 2017; Bahn, 1984; Huey, 2010; Huey and Broll, 2012; Perlmutter, 2000; Allen et al., 1998; Rantatalo, 2016) touch on the effect that the media has on the police officer, how they believe they are viewed, and how they believe the public and their colleagues expect them to behave. Within all studies participants expressed the suppression of frustration at the unrealistic portrayal of the police, and how this impacted their relationship with the public. For my part, the most concerning of all the portrayals is the 'broken by the job' architype. The, now common place, depiction of the officer that suppresses emotion, is dissociated from their own and the feelings of others, isolated from their families and communities, and clearly suffering from complex Post-Traumatic Stress. It is a concern that this depiction of the burned-out officer perpetuates an acceptable image of the stoic officer that won't speak out about their emotions. Does the media unwittingly perpetuate

organisational and feeling rules of the stoic 'British bobby' that eventual leads to the spiralling mental ill-health presently experienced within the British police service?

2.8 Emotional Labour and Policing: The Extant Literature.

Having explored the construct of emotional labour, the potential psychological outcomes and explored the social context and constructed identity of the police officer, I can now move on to discuss the academic literature specifically devoted to emotional labour in policing. This provides the reader a wider context within which to reflect on what is often an over simplified picture of the complexity of emotional labour within police officers' lives.

Research into emotional labour in policing has taken a positivist approach and sought to prove hypothesis through a number of measures; reducing emotional experiences to dependent and independent variables (Adams and Buck, 2010; Schiable and Six, 2016; Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). Indeed, out of the 17 international studies into emotional labour in policing there were 23 different measures identified, where researchers employ different standards to test various aspects of emotional labour and psychological health outcomes. This creates a layer of complexity that overly complicates the area of literature; reducing the ability to compare and contrast findings. Therefore, the literature does not appear to be building on previous findings; as different elements of emotion work are examined from different perspectives. Also, the literature does not always account for all aspects of the emotional labour concept. This leaves a sense of incompletion in some studies: a story half told.

Indeed, positivist approaches have restricted the contribution of participants, who can only answer the questions presented to them (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). As it is, 'the goal of understanding a phenomenon from the point of view of the participants and its particular context is largely lost when textual data is quantified' (Kaplan and Maxwell, 1994 cited in Myers, 2013:6). Hochschild, in contrast, is clearly concerned with how power within the organisation is used to control the individual and their emotional experience through the role of social structures (Hochschild,

1983; Colley, 2006; Brook, 2009). This philosophical position is reflected in Hochschild's original study of employees which took an interpretive approach; utilising methods of observation, interviews and surveys.

2.8.1 Emotional Labour in policing.

In 2009 Chapman conducted a review of the literature on emotional labour within policing; and highlighted how the existing international research indicated that police officers were at the highest risk of performing emotional labour; whilst also being the highest at risk for suffering the subsequent consequences of burnout. Notably, the link between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion was found to be at its strongest within the police service compared to employees in health care, teaching, hospitality, finance, tourism, the clergy and flight attendants (Chapman, 2009; Kenworthy et al., 2014). In terms of geographical location there is quite an international mix of countries of study. This in itself restricts interpretation and application as country culture is more likely to have an influence on organisational rules around emotional expression; which is likely to be reflected by those operating within the local police force. Therefore, this reduces the generalisability of the study findings, and also may contribute to the confliction of findings.

Van Gelderen et al. (2007) examined the link between emotional labour and emotional exhaustion; and found that officers who were already experiencing psychological strain in terms of emotional exhaustion at the beginning of a shift, were more likely to suffer higher levels of burnout at the end of a shift. Emotional dissonance, as an aspect of emotional labour, was found to contribute to this increase; as energy resources depleted and psychological strain spiralled (Van Gelderen et al., 2007). Therefore, it is suggested that emotional labour exacerbates the emotionally demanding qualities of police work, increasing the likely hood in poor psychological outcomes such as burnout and likely contributing to increased PTSD symptomology.

Despite these arguments, the research into emotional labour in policing is still disparate, conflicting, and incomplete. This is despite a small amount of research that highlights how feeling and display rules extend within an officer's life: beyond

interactions with offenders and victims, and into relationships with peers and supervisors (Adams and Buck, 2010). Concerningly, authentic emotions are considered as weakness, for example; humour is often employed as an emotional release when dealing with trauma (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991). However, this complexity is difficult to capture, particularly through retrospective self-report methods that seek to capture the very concept that restricts emotional articulation.

2.8.2 The Case for Deep Acting.

The challenge of this complexity is highlighted as the extant literature struggles to understand and agree the relationship between surface acting and deep acting, and mental health. In 2016 Bhowmick and Mulla sought to understand whether positive outcomes in emotional labour were linked to the display of authentic emotion; or the specific emotion itself. Particularly, they were concerned with the impact of display rules relating to negative emotions; as they felt that this was what set policing apart from other forms of emotional labour - hypothesising that this may disproportionately negatively affect burnout levels. However, they found that it was the emotional authenticity, rather than the specific emotion itself, that led to improved personal accomplishment (PA). Whereas, surface acting led to emotional exhaustion (EE) and depersonalisation (DP) (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). Further, the authors sought to claim that as authentic negative emotions can positively impact the outcome of an investigation (through the manipulation of suspect's emotions); then it is this that leads to improved PA (Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). However, they do not go on to say how deep acting a negative emotion may impact burnout if the investigation or interaction is not successful, as the outcome of the investigation is not controlled for within their research. Bhowmick and Mulla (2016) also report a causal link between surface acting and EE and DP; and argue that this is not just as a result of emotional dissonance; but also related to becoming detached from the case at hand.

Similar links were found by Bakker and Heuven (2006), who were interested in the relationship between emotional dissonance, burnout, and performance. However, it is here that the complexity of emotional labour within police work, and the breadth

of measures that are employed to measure emotion work and outcomes, impedes the understanding and comparison of research in the field. Bakker and Heuven (2006) developed a questionnaire, utilising elements of three existing scales. It is useful to understand that the authors understood emotional dissonance to be 'the discrepancy between authentic, and displayed, emotions as part of the job' (Bakker and Heuven, 2006:426). Referring back to Hochschild (1983); I interpret this as surface acting.

Bakker and Heuven (2006) found that emotional dissonance lead to EE and DP: 'police officers who feel a discrepancy between the emotions they need to show and their true emotions deplete their energy resources and eventually become cynical' (Bakker and Heuven, 2006:435), a position that reflects the findings of Bhowmick and Mulla (2016). However, as in the work of Bhowmick and Mulla (2016), the authors go on to suggest that when officers supress negative emotion, but successfully deal with an aggressive situation, they may experience positive emotions. As Bakker and Heuven (2006) only used two burnout measures: DP and EE (as they considered lack of personal achievement not to be an aspect of burnout), it must be considered had the authors measured for PA, they may have further developed this point?

2.8.3 Depersonalisation - burnout or coping?

As it is, Bakker and Heuven (2006) identify a significant limitation in their research; in that they cannot establish direction of the causal relationship between depersonalisation and burnout. They consider that depersonalisation is not only an aspect of burnout but also a probable requirement of the organisation (Bakker and Heuven, 2006). A point that echoes Aaron's (2000) finding that police officers employ dissociation as a maladaptive coping strategy and a point that I am particularly concerned with.

This hypothesis is supported by the earlier work of Pogrebin and Poole (1991) and more recently in that of Daus and Brown (2012). Both sets of authors took a qualitative approach to their research. However, Daus and Brown (2012) supported their research with the use of Linguistic Inquiry and Word Count (LIWC) software (Pennebaker, Booth and Francis, 2007 cited in Daus and Brown, 2012:319) to analyse

for emotional content expressed within interviews. Both studies had the advantage of allowing officers to express their own emotions as they experienced them, rather than being confined to those defined within a survey. This resulted in a large range of emotions being expressed. Pogrebin and Poole (1991) established that the expression of emotion within the police is severely restricted; finding that officers seek to influence how they are perceived by others by displaying a detached demeanour: 'Emotions such as anger, disgust, and sadness are not to be displayed' (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991:42).

Supporting these results, Daus and Brown (2012) found that officers perceived that they were expected to 'express certain emotions frequently (anger, empathy) and supress others frequently also (anger/hatred, sadness)' (Daus and Brown, 2012:319). It is clear from both studies that if officers do talk about personal feelings they are seen as not being fully in control of their emotions (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991). Pogrebin and Poole note how 'professional desensitization can be generalized beyond the confines of occupational experiences, negatively affecting an individual's entire emotional response set' (1991:400).

An interesting outcome of the research conducted by Daus and Brown (2012) was in the assessment of anger; officers were clear that anger should be supressed whilst working. However, the LIWC 2007 results indicated that words that suggest the emotion of anger were very common, significantly more so than in the random test sample; displaying a significant emotional dissonance in terms of anger expression and suppression (Daus and Brown, 2012). As Daus and Brown (2012) note, although the expression of extreme anger is not helpful or tolerated, there is a need for this to be balanced with a healthy expression of anger. Identifying alternative ways of expressing emotion, Pogrebin and Poole (1991) captured the use of humour in tragic events as a way of expressing emotion without damaging the professional reputation; highlighting how officers need to express anxiety and tension but find other ways to achieve this (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991).

Although neither study measures for levels of burnout, it is clear that the qualitative methods used allow for a more detailed understanding of how officers desensitise

from their work. A strong indication that depersonalisation is more than just an outcome of burnout.

2.8.4 The Case for Surface Acting.

Nevertheless, it would seem that the findings of both Bakker and Heuven (2006) and that of Bhowmick and Mulla (2016) conflict with those of research conducted by authors Schaible and Six (2016), Schaible and Gecas (2010) and Adams and Buck (2010).

Schaible and Six (2016) were specifically concerned with coercion and the requirement to apologise; examining the relationship with emotional dissonance, the expression and suppression of positive and negative emotions, and surface and deep acting. Whereas, Schaible and Gecas (2010) concerned themselves with value dissonance (discrepancy between personal values and those espoused on behalf of the organisation), in conjunction with emotional dissonance, in relation to burnout. Here, they articulate value dissonance as a result of change in the policing role, which has moved away from traditional law enforcement roles, to incorporating community policing; leaving some officers conflicted in their personal and professional values (Schaible and Gecas, 2010).

The findings of Schaible and Six (2016), which are in stark contrast to that of Bakker and Heuven (2006) and Bhowmick and Mulla (2016), suggest that the requirement to coerce leads to DP; that deep acting negative emotion is consequential, and surface acting beneficial. The authors here argue that feigning (surface acting) assists officers in the successful execution of their duty, which lessens the negative impact of emotional suppression. This is a complete contrast to the findings and supposition of Bhowmick and Mulla (2016). Whereas Schaible and Six (2016) find that the requirement to deep act increases officers EE and DP, accept when related to requirement for apology - which decreases DP; or when deep acting is related to positive emotions - which decreases EE (Schailble and Six, 2016). However, Schaible and Six (2016) only used 13 out of 22 of the indicators of the MBI in order to speed up completion time – which Schaiable and Six themselves acknowledge as a weakness which undermines the findings and reduces the ability to compare this

study with other studies using the complete burnout measure ie. Bhowmick and Mulla (2016). Specifically, the indicators missing from Schaiable and Six's (2016) MBI measure are:

- I feel used up at the end of the work day.
- I feel fatigued when I get up in the morning and have to face another day on the job.
- I worry that this job is hardening me emotionally.
- I feel frustrated by my job.
- I feel I'm working too on my job.
- I don't really care what happens to some recipients.
- I can easily create a relaxed atmosphere with my recipients.
- I feel exhilarated after working closely with my recipients.
- I feel like I am at the end of my rope.

Bearing in mind the nature of the measures missing, and how this will reduce the reliability of the measure, this may explain the confliction of the findings with the other studies.

Schaible and Gecas (2010) further explored this research and found that when officers experience value dissonance and are required to express values (through surface acting) that are incongruent of their own, they experience increased DP (Schaible and Gecas, 2010). They went on to find that EE is exacerbated when value dissonance interacts with deep acting; which they surmise is an impact of acting as both 'toe and heal' of the organisation, and that there is evidence to suggest that surface acting required emotion reduces emotional exhaustion (Hochschild, 1983; Schaible and Gecas (2010). However, as in the previous study of Schaible and Six (2016) only 13 of the 22 indicators of the MBI were used in this study, again limiting the reliability of the findings.

Again, there is 'evidence that officers use depersonalisation as coping mechanism' (Schaible and Gecas, 2010: 333), reflecting the thoughts of Bakker and Heuven (2006) that depersonalisation (whether as an organisational requirement or coping

mechanism) is experienced prior to burnout. However, whether it is a cause as well as an outcome is not understood.

Finding in favour of surface acting, Adams and Buck (2010) undertook a study examining two sources of work stress; relationships with those outside organisation (public), and those within (colleagues and supervisors). Surface acting was found to have a positive impact on individual outcomes and was found to mediate the relationship between stressors and EE for both insiders and outsiders (Adams and Buck, 2010). Interestingly, Adams and Buck (2010) also found that stress experienced from insiders was as strong as stress experienced from outsiders, with feeling rules existing for both interactions with outsiders, but also internal organisational relationships.

In the most recent study into Emotional Labour and policing, Kwak, McNeele, and Kim. (2018) looked into how emotional labour, role stressors and emotional dissonance lead to higher levels of job burnout in South Korean police officers. Not too surprisingly they found that the frequency of interactions with members of the public was a significant predictor of EE, whilst variety of emotional expression increased officer's cynicism (DP). Indeed, similar to the work of Bakker and Heuven (2006) they find that it is this requirement to display a number of emotions that increases DP through the emotional dissonance experienced when managing their authentic emotions. However, supporting the findings of Van Gerlderen et al. (2011b), Kwak et al. (2018) found that the greater the intensity of emotional display required increased an officer's interest in their job but also their sense of PA. Interestingly, intensity of emotional display required did not contribute to increased emotional exhaustion. However, for this study the intensity of emotional display related only to positive affect and entailed deep acting. Therefore, the positive effect could again be due to the positive outcome as a result. However, it was found that officers who tried to comply with organisationally expected emotions were less likely show a cynical attitude to their job (DP). This seems in conflict with the finding that variety of emotional expression increases DP and begs the question, what emotions do officers view as organisationally expected, and which are those that are required

by others or for what means and in which circumstance? Unfortunately, due to the quantitative measured used, these points are not accounted for.

2.8.5 Robocop.

Prior to the commencement of this thesis I completed a piece of research that looked at emotional labour in policing and the relationship to burnout (Lennie et al., 2019). This was a smaller mixed methods study of audio diaries, a focus group, and Maslach and Jackson's (1981) Burnout Inventory. This study was restricted to a small group of participants within one force where audio diaries were carried out over a short time frame and totalled 38 entries. Psychological outcomes were measured via a quantitative measure of burnout, which reduced the exploration of psychological outcomes, and the data set was restricted to serving officers alone. This study was useful as it explored the narrative around emotional labour for police officers, this was as a result of the main data collection method which captured the lived experience of the phenomenon in question. Strong feeling and display rules were identified that required officers to suppress their authentic emotions, whilst using DP or emotional distancing as coping strategies. Emotional expression was considered a sign of weakness which is in line with the masculine culture of policing (Reiner, 2010). Those participants that suppressed fear with colleagues suffered a higher level of EE, building on the work of Bakker and Heuven (2006) and Adams and Buck (2010). Feeling and display rules were found to operate in familial relationships. In the main participants surface acted professional detachment, and in doing so displayed low levels of PA – in line with the logic that to be stoic is to be competent.

2.9 Chapter Summary.

I began this chapter by setting the scene in policing and briefly exploring the enduring machismo culture that continues to marginalise emotional expression. I draw attention to the last decade of austerity measures and how this has led to greater pressures on police officers in an increasingly intensified workplace, increasing their exposure to traumatic incidents and reducing their ability to adequately service the needs of their communities. This leads me onto my exploration of emotional labour

- a concept that looks at the organisational requirement for employees to supress their authentic emotions and to act out the required emotions, articulated through feeling and display rules. I have also highlighted the negative implications of emotional labour, and some of the arguments in this area.

Further exploring in the psychological impacts of emotional labour I have identified how the continual exposure to trauma can have a significant impact on officer mental health, leading to an increase in sickness absence related to PTSD, Depression, Anxiety and Stress. I have also briefly highlighted how the ability to express emotions supports human coping with trauma. However, it is the exploration of dissociative PTSD that I feel truly draws out my concern for this study: particularly when relating Aaron's (2000) findings of how officers dissociate as a form of coping, to the implications of dissociation at the time of trauma for the development of PTSD. I look to draw out the links between dissociative behaviour and police officers' compliance with feeling and display rules, which leads to persistent and generalised dissociation, linked in the literature to dissociative PTSD.

I have then explored the representation of police officers within the media, making the connection between media representation, social identity theory and the creation and perpetuation of the feeling and display rules permeating police officers' lives; reflecting on the power of media and society to govern group behaviour and individual identity and belonging. This leads me on to my second concern: how far do feeling rules govern an officers' social and private life through societal and individual comparison to the media representation of police officers?

I then moved to discuss the current literature on emotional labour in front line policing and the findings and limitations. I make the argument that the extant literature is somewhat conflicted and confused due to the number of different measures relied upon (whether in full or partially) and where one article does not draw on the findings of the next. Indeed, there is little consistency across the area. An extensive reliance on quantitative measures does not allow for the understanding of officers' lived experience as a totality, within the wider societal context.

Therefore, it is here that I find my third area of concern: what are the feeling and display rules as openly expressed by police officers, and what cognitive processes underly police officer emotional expression and suppression.

Overall, I wish to explore the potential link between the requirement to comply with feeling and display rules and police officers' dissociative behaviour, and whether depersonalisation and dissociation are requirements of emotional labour prior to, or as a result of, experienced trauma. To address these concerns I will draw upon a qualitative methodology, and with this in mind I have defined the two main **Aims** of my thesis:

- To understand how emotional labour impacts on psychological health within the police service of England and Wales.
- To make recommendations for operational and cultural changes which can improve officers' psychological health in relational to emotional expression.

Which are broken down into five main **Principle Research Questions**:

1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers?

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

3. How do these rules influence police officer psychological health?

4. To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms?

5. How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health?

And six **Research Objectives**:

1. To identify when police officers supress and express emotion in their lives in accordance with the perceived feeling rules of the organisation.

2. To establish how the rules are perceived to operate in relationships:

Within the organisation.

With family and friends.

With the public.

3. To establish (through the qualitative lens) how emotional labour is linked to mental health outcomes.

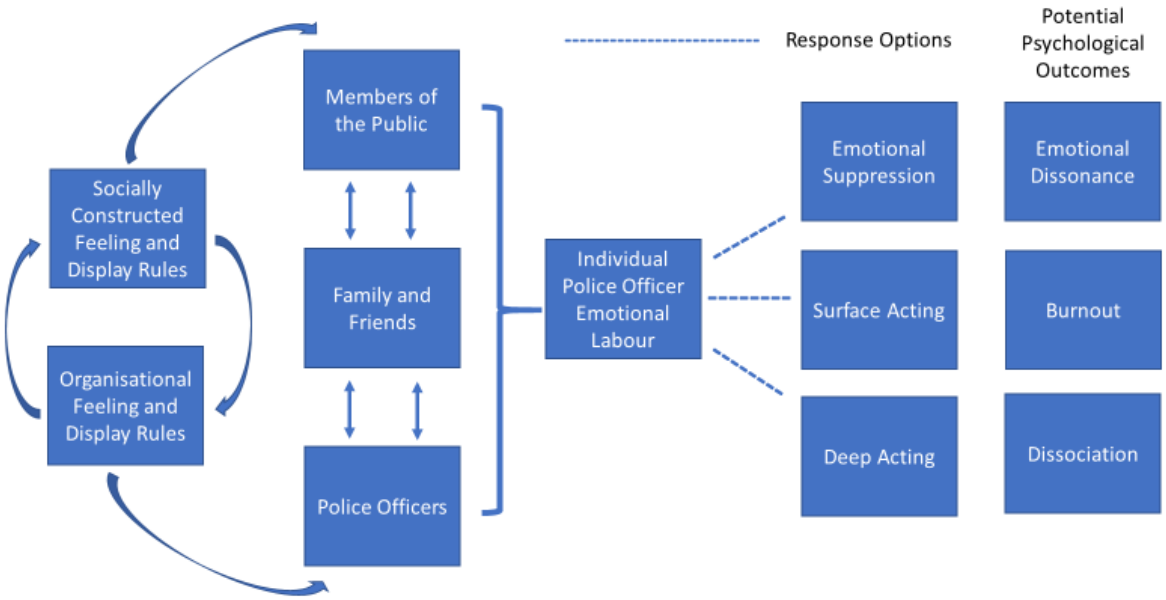
4. To explore the media image of police officers emotional labour, and how this links with police officer's perception of feeling rules.

5. To understand if depersonalisation is perceived as an organisational feeling rule, prior to burnout.

6. To understand if depersonalisation is perceived as a coping mechanism, prior to burnout.

This is reflected in the below conceptual framework: Figure 1: Conceptual Framework.

Fig. 1: Conceptual Framework.



Overall, it is the impact of the lived experience of emotional labour on the coping strategies and mental health outcomes of police officers who deal with trauma on a daily basis that I am concerned with: is emotional labour and the associated feeling and display rules associated with psychological outcomes of police officers beyond the exposure to trauma alone?

However, in exploring these issues I am also responding to the call of the Academy of Management *Perspectives:*

> 'We also urge researchers to explore the ethical implications of being inauthentic as part of the work role. Is emotional labor, which involves regulating and changing emotions to fit work requirements, something that organizations should be able to expect from their employees as a necessary part of the job? We…encourage a thorough discussion of this issue within the field (Barsade & Gibson, 2007: 54).

As well as that of MacEachern et al., (2018) who argue that there is further research required to explore the cultural norms that influence officer coping.

Chapter Three: Methods and Methodology.

3.1 Introduction.

In this chapter I will discuss the design and methods used within this study. I will begin by setting out my philosophical perspective and how this underpins the design of the study, taking into consideration the methodology employed within the extant literature. I make the argument for taking a hermeneutic phenomenological approach and how this is needed to truly understand the emotional labour phenomenon as it plays out in the social context of policing. I argue for the need to take a critical approach to this study, with the intention of advancing academic understanding, but also to improve individual lived experience. Once this element is complete, I go on to discuss the four-phase research design and the sequential elements within it – highlighting how one data set influences the design of the next. From here I make the case for each of the four data collection methods taken, discussing sample selection and ethical considerations. I follow up this section with the four different analysis approaches taken, and their appropriateness for this study in answering the five research questions.

Research Aims and Questions.

- To understand how emotional labour impacts on psychological health within the police service of England and Wales.
- To make recommendations for operational and cultural changes which can improve officers' psychological health in relational to emotional expression.

Which are broken down into five main **Principle Research Questions**:

1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers?

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

3. How do these rules influence police officer psychological health?

4. To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms?

5. How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health?

3.2 Philosophical Underpinnings.

In her seminal work Hochschild (1983) acknowledges the influence of Erving Goffman and Karl Marx on her ontological position and is regarded as influencing feminist studies within the workplace, providing a new perspective on the value of cognitive, affective and communicative labour traditionally associated with female working and social roles (Hochschild, 1983; Colley, 2006; Weeks, 2007; Brook, 2009). Hochschild is concerned with how power within the organisation is used to control the individual and their emotional experience and is noted for her application of Marx's alienation theory to the human cost of emotional labour and politicisation of work place structures (Hochschild, 1983; Colley, 2006; Brook, 2009). This perspective is particularly relevant for the study of emotions and mental health in a police service that has a historically machismo culture grounded in danger and authority, which undermines emotional expression and feeling (Reiner, 2010; Bacon, 2014; Bella and Eski, 2015)

Reflecting Hochschild's (1983) philosophical position her original study of employees took an interpretive approach; utilising methods of observation, interviews and surveys. However, research into emotional labour in policing has taken a positivist approach and sought to prove hypothesis through a number of measures; reducing emotional experiences to dependent and independent variables (Adams and Buck, 2010; Schiable and Six, 2016; Bhowmick and Mulla, 2016). Out of the 17 emotional labour in policing papers reviewed there were 23 different measures identified, where researchers employ different standards to test various aspects of emotional labour and psychological health outcomes. Such a positivist stance has limited the understanding of emotional labour within the police service. Aspects of emotional

experience have been taken out of context and isolated where the picture in totality has not been considered. Positivist approaches have restricted the contribution of participants, who can only answer the questions presented to them (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). Indeed, 'the goal of understanding a phenomenon from the point of view of the participants and its particular context is largely lost when textual data is quantified' (Kaplan and Maxwell, 1994 cited in Myers, 2013:6).

3.2.1 Ontological and Epistemological Positioning.

The question of 'being' is central to understanding a researcher's position within the philosophical landscape; and central to understanding and interpreting a researcher's methodological approach and subsequent research findings (Laverty, 2003; Myers, 2013). Heidegger talked of inauthenticity as rejecting or suppressing subjective experience and being detached from our relationship to the world (Spinelli, 2005). Heidegger went on to argue that authentic existence only comes from an individual's realisation that each existence is unique, and only then can each individual fulfil their true potential (Cooper and Fosl, 2010; Hornsby, 2017).

This articulation of authenticity and inauthenticity relates well to Hochschild's (1983) representation of employees as actors, supressing their authentic emotions to comply with organisational feeling rules; and in doing so creating in-authentic emotions. Hochschild's (1983) work is understood through the representation of the real self and the false self, or the public and the private self (Tracy, 2000). Heidegger sees authenticity and in-authenticity as impermanent states, where we may exist in a majority state of in-authenticity, although authenticity is possible at any given moment or situation (Spinelli, 2005).

3.2.2 Phenomenology.

Heidegger's philosophical position is a form of phenomenology which is located in the interpretive paradigm (Laverty, 2003; Smith et al, 2009). The intent of phenomenology is to understand how we perceive our lived experience in the world and is concerned with the creation of meaning out of our conscious understanding of the world around us.

Heidegger founded hermeneutic phenomenology, taking a more existentialist and applied research approach to the study of phenomena (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Smith et al., 2009; Schwandt, 2011). Hermeneutic phenomenology rejects the idea of reduction and accepts that there are a multiplicity of subjective interpretations of the world and in doing so honours individual human experience (Smith, 1999; Kafle, 2011). Hermeneutics is the study of human experience through the interpretation of text, including written and verbal communication, art, and symbolism, and is accepted as the interpretation of human behaviour as intended or expressed meaning - including organisational culture (Laverty, 2003; Lee, 1991; Myers, 2013; Dima and Bucuta, 2016).

Heidegger laid great importance on the person-in-context view, emphasising our relatedness-to-the-world in our interpretation of our existence (Spinelli, 2005) and argued that interpretation was intrinsic to human existence. It is at this point that phenomenology moves away from the concept of Cartesian dualism and accepts the existence of multiple, subjective, and co-created realities (Kafle, 2011; Todres and Wheeler, 2001). Therefore, hermeneutic phenomenology sees that an attempt to isolate physical and external stimuli (as within a positivist or transcendental approach) would be to create an artificial situation, and ultimately ignore the importance of context (Laverty, 2003).

This perspective is particularly important for this study as the desire is to understand not only subjective experience, but also to interpret how individuals create meaning and are influenced by the organisational and social environment, through the concept of feeling and display rules.

3.2.3 Historicity and the Hermeneutic Circle.

Within this perspective Heidegger argued the importance of historicality or 'historicity' (Myers, 2013:184) - the understanding of our background and lived experience. Heidegger claimed that interpretation was the way that humans understood their world, and that a person's historicality was central to this subjective interpretation.

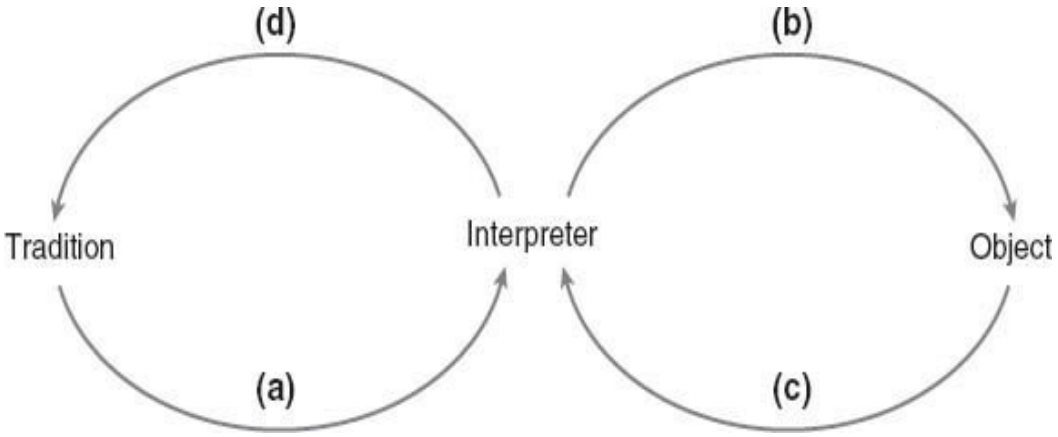
Heidegger spoke of 'fore-conception (prior experiences, assumptions, preconceptions)' which an individual brings to their reading (Smith et al., 2009:25). Therefore, a reader or analyst cannot help but look in light of their own experience and, significantly, it is only once the analyst has taken in their first reading do they know what fore-conceptions become relevant and perhaps obstructive (Smith et al., 2009). This is particularly relevant for this thesis as I was a serving officer for the first three years of research, and I am motivated to carry out this work due to personal experience. Therefore, I recognise that I bring significant fore-conceptions to my work. With this comes the need for transparency and to address this I have kept a reflexive diary so that readers are able to avail themselves of my unique perspective and how it influences this thesis and my interpretation therein. This is addressed in more detail later in this chapter.

Hermeneutic phenomenology takes the perspective that description itself is a form of interpretation (Kafle, 2011). Geanellos (1998:159) explains the hermeneutic circle as the interrelationship of the whole, providing meaning to the parts which when brought together, give meaning to the whole:

> 'the meaning of a sentence is understood through the individual words of which it is composed while the meaning of individual words is understood in the context of the sentence as a whole'.

Therefore, iterative re-reading of text (or artefact) is an important aspect of hermeneutic phenomenological analysis. Heidegger views the hermeneutic circle (Figure 2) not only as a methodological principle but as an ontological position - 'an essential feature of all knowledge and understanding' of our being-in-the-world (Schwandt, 2011:134). The hermeneutic circle is also a process to increase the depth of understanding of text: 'moving from parts of experience, to the whole of experience and back and forth again' (Laverty, 2003:24), an iterative process that continues until contradictions are reconciled (Myers, 2013).

Figure 2 Hermeneutic Circle.



(Schwandt, 2017:134)

Historicality and the hermeneutic circle are key to exploring emotional labour in policing, with the interpretation of organisational and societal feeling and display rules providing subjective contextual meaning to the interpretation of police officer subjective lived experience of emotion, based on their interpretation of organisational and societal feeling and display rules. It is an important aspect of interpretive research to recognise that facts cannot be separated from values, and that context should not be ignored in the search for a universal law (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991; Slevitch, 2011). It is for this reason that positivist research, which seeks to identify and test, objective, isolated facts has been brought into question (Sokal, 1996; Madill et al., 2000; Myers, 2013). Interpretive studies have taken the position that the positivist approach is inadequate to study social reality through a lack of appreciation of context and historicality (Lee, 1991; Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991; Myers, 2013).

WITH RESPECT TO THE RESEARCHER'S PERSONAL THOUGHTS ON HEIDEGGER PLEASE REFER TO APPENDIX A: AA3: PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNINGS

3.2.4 Critical Research.

Within this study I take a critical approach and I seek not only to discover how things are put together and produce the knowledge that reflects society and the organisation I am also driven to reveal the distortions of power which individuals are subjected, and subject themselves, to (Miller, 2000). Critical research seeks to create awareness through challenging individuals not just to recognise how 'others dominate us, but also how we dominate ourselves' (May, 2002:4); reflecting Foucault's concern with the normalisation of subjection (Gutting, 2005). In doing so critical research seeks to critically evaluate and deconstruct - challenging the status quo and our complicity within; daring to transform prejudicial, alienating and oppressive social and cultural practices that seek to freeze social reality to the benefit of one and expense of another (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991; Alvesson and Deetz, 2000; May, 2002; Myers and Klien, 2011; Myers, 2013).

Taking a critical approach to exploring emotional labour in policing is supported by critical hermeneutic phenomenology (Kinsella, 2006; Myers, 2013). The awareness of the researcher as to the historical context and traditions of the research subject, through the hermeneutic circle, supports an understanding of how power is created within the context examined. This awareness is important to the direction and focus of the research design and is again addressed within the reflexive aspect of this research. Gadamer (cited in Kinsella, 2006:39) contends that hermeneutic reflection 'exercises a self-criticism of thinking consciousness... [and] incites the particularities and intimacies of our lives to call these traditions to account'.

3.2.5 Philosophical Summary.

Taking a phenomenological perspective, I argue that it is inadvisable to attempt to reduce emotional labour and human emotions to discrete occurrences without context (Laverty, 2003). This research brings a new perspective to the consideration of emotional labour in policing and will move away from attempts to reduce emotions to variables, and surface acting to causation. Studying the policing experience of emotional labour, within a social and organisational context, and allowing participants to openly express their own cognitive processing and underlying motivations for emotional expression and suppression, will address the gaps identified in the literature. I will explore the potential link between the requirement to comply with feeling and display rules and police officers' dissociative behaviour, and whether depersonalisation and dissociation are requirements of emotional labour prior to, or as a result of, experienced trauma. Historicity cannot be ignored or separated from the phenomena under study: from this we come to understand the mechanisms of power that would otherwise go unnoticed (Foucault, 1986). Emotional labour in policing is steeped in a historical context of patriarchy and masculinity, this research seeks to explore this phenomenon from the perspective of those who live within it (Martin, 1999). Moving away from a relativist ontological position I explore such experiences and identify multiple perceptions of reality; bringing the opportunity to present a depth of knowledge not previously considered (Laverty, 2003). With this comes the ability to strengthen and support previously silenced voices, providing a platform for officers to speak out without the fear of recrimination or judgement (Foucault, 1986). This in turn presents the opportunity for the researcher and participants to challenge the continuing emotional oppression that exists with the organisation and society at large, and explore practical solutions to address the existing culture of stigma and oppression (May, 2002; Gutting, 2005).

3.3 Methodology.

The traditional concept of mixed methods as a cross paradigm combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods has become more readily accepted within the research community since its conception some 30 years ago (Creswell, 2015; Bryman and Bell, 2015). The benefits of employing multiple methods to address limitations in one data collection method with the strengths found in another are widely recognised as producing stronger and richer research outcomes (Creswell et al., 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003; Morse, 2003). As discussed earlier at **3.2 'Philosophical Underpinnings'**, by considered intention this study employs a purely qualitative methodology, underpinned by an ontological and epistemological view of multiple realities, co-constructed between researcher and participant, and through a desire not to reduce lived experience to objective and depersonalised statistical representation (Mertens, 2003; Mason, 2006). In doing so I address the research gap identified within the extant literature.

One of the main drives of qualitative research is to understand the human condition in context, and to do this through engaging with participants. This is achieved through the methods that are employed (Myers, 2013). The value of the rich qualitative information that can be obtained from the different approaches available, and the power that this provides to the social science researcher, cannot be overstated (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007; Rynes, 2007; Weick, 2007; Myers, 2013). In his essay 'The Generative Properties of Richness', Weick (2007) goes at length to stress the importance of rich data to the social scientist for achieving understanding in *context*; rather than with the singular perspective of the historian - employing hindsight.

It is the very multi-dimensional and complex messy nature of social phenomena that requires a multi-perspective and interwoven methodological approach to capture a snapshot of ever evolving and subjective life experiences, producing a 'contingency of lived lives' (Mason, 2006; Gabb, 2009:49). Mason (2008 cited in Gabb, 2009:49) acknowledged that:

> ‘the complexity of empirical research does not neatly fit into tightly packaged generalisations which edit, abstract and reduce real lives to sanitised measurement of experience, this process obscures the vitality of living and lived lives’.

It was within this context that the chosen data collection methods were settled upon, with a sequential design intended to develop, in an iterative process, a rich picture of the different ways in which police officers assume the feeling rules that govern their emotional experiences, finally informing a practitioner driven resolution.

3.3.1 Sequential Qualitative Mixed Methods.

This study adopts a sequential qualitative mixed methods approach: qual – QUAL – QUAL – QUAL (Mason, 2018). Morse talks of ‘sequential qualitative mixed method designs’ from the perspective of ‘within paradigm’ research (Morse, 2010:483), moving away from the traditional quantitative/qualitative cross paradigm mix (Creswell, 2015; Bryman and Bell, 2015). Whether utilising methods from one or both methodological paradigms, mixed methods research and the sister concept multimethod, both seek to address the limitations in single method research through the synthesis of methods and convergence of findings (Morse, 2003; Brewer and Hunter, 2006; Abro et al., 2015). Thus strengthening confidence in the results of the study, reducing methodological bias and enriching our understanding of human experience (Morse, 2003; Brewer and Hunter, 2006; Abro et al., 2015).

Mason argues that almost all qualitative researchers will at some point, in almost all qualitative studies, apply a mix of methods and that this is an aspect of thinking creatively when investigating (Mason, 2018). However, Morse (2010) is somewhat prescriptive in her articulation of both qualitative mixed methods and multimethod. Denoting qualitative mixed methods (QUAL-qual) as consisting of a core and supplementary method, specifically stating that the core component is a complete method, with a supplementary method composing another incomplete method that ‘is not publishable as a separate project’ (Morse, 2010:484). However, this poses a number of problems for the researcher. Firstly, there is a certain amount of freedom

within the qualitative paradigm that allows researchers to design and structure their research in the best way that will answer the research question. A point which is not lost on Morse who does acknowledge, like Mason, that utilising more than one method could be considered as 'normal variations of qualitative studies' (2010:484; Mason, 2018). Indeed, Morse raises the question as to whether it is helpful to think of qualitative research as mixed method - a question that is not answered within her work. Secondly, qualitative research by nature is an iterative and cyclical process that builds and flexes as the research is conducted, and one would hope that a good quality study would anticipate and respond to limitations in the data collection method (Barbour, 2006; Meth and McClymont, 2009; Nepal, 2010). As stated by Gorard (2010:239) 'the structure of a standard design is not intended to be restrictive' and it maybe that this concept is best understood retrospectively, or, at most, act as guidance and for consideration, when at the design stage.

When I sought to apply the QUAL-qual concept to this study, it raised numerous questions as to definition and application. As already stated, QUAL-qual mixed methods are required to have one core component that is complete, in addition to 'one (or more) incomplete method(s) (ie., the supplementary component[s])' (Morse, 2010:483). In this study it is considered that the core component is the audio diary (phase 2) element of data collection. However, there is also consideration that the 3rd phase of data collection (reflexive participant interviews) is also complete, and probable that the 4th (role play/psychodrama) is too. If Morse's (2010) theory is to be taken literally, this number of complete elements would prevent this study from being referred to as a QUAL-qual mixed methods design. This point is compounded by the standard of the 1st phase of research (secondary data media review) which, although not necessarily complete in so much as the data set examined is not saturated (and therefore could be considered as a supplementary element) could still be considered for publication as a separate project, which again eliminates this study from the definition.

If Morse is to be followed, this study may instead be considered a multiple method design (Morse, 2003; Morse, 2010). However, it is not clear that this study will meet the criteria for multimethod either - or whether this feels to be an appropriate

designation. Morse states that the multimethod design consists of separate projects where the data is 'not usually combined within projects, as may occur in a mixed methods design' (2003:199). The research project at hand is designed to be sequential, with thematic analysis of the current phase informing the design of the subsequent phase, and therefore the data is combined. This raises the question as to whether this sequential phase of thematic analysis could be considered supplementary as it deals with data that, at the time of analysis, was not complete.

Phillips et al. (2014) take a similar approach to the study at hand, employing more than one complete qualitative method in a QUAL-qual mixed method design, but still retaining the label of qualitative mixed methods. They argue that the use of several core and complete components (which could be published on their own) improved 'authenticity and trustworthiness of the findings' (Phillips et al., 2014:10). They go on to provide an alternate wording to the definition of mixed qualitative method design which includes the caveat that 'one or more of the methods may be able to generate sufficiently coherent and convincing findings to be published alone' which adds to the robust nature of the research outcomes (Phillips et al., 2014:11).

Nepal (2010), argues for the use of data obtained via one method to be used to inform a subsequent method, as applied within this study. A specific point that is reaffirmed by Meth and McClymont in their qualitative mixed methods study, where they reaffirm the iterative nature of mixed method research and highlight how 'decisions about methodology are re-negotiated throughout the project' (2009:911). A point that sits well with this study, which did not originally include the interviews of ex-police officers, with the decision to include this group when the researcher was approached by members within this population who wished their voice to be included.

With this discussion in mind it is decided to retain the label 'sequential qualitative mixed methods research' for this study. It should be noted that this researcher considers this concept along the lines of Mason who states that 'there is nothing special about mixing methods' and as such this is not short-hand by which others can anticipate this methodology (Mason, 2018:38).

3.3.2 Reflexivity.

This seems an appropriate point to return to the underlying principles of hermeneutic phenomenology as it is here that my personal preconceptions clearly influence the design of this thesis. Gadamer argues the methodological importance of understanding the influence of researcher fore-conceptions and the 'imperative to identify, challenge and qualify interpreter pre-understandings' (Geanellos, 1998:155). The researcher themselves are implicated and present at every stage of the research, from the decision to undertake the research and the formulation of the first research question to the presentation of findings (Roulston, 2010). Indeed, Gadamer encourages the researcher to explore 'what is going on', and to do this reflexively - captured through the reflexive journal, where the critical gaze is turned towards the researcher (Koch and Harrington, 1998; Smith, 1999)

As a hermeneutic phenomenological researcher, it is incumbent upon the individual to acknowledge, explore, and present their own fore-conceptions which assisted them in forming their interpretation of their world experience and in turn, that of their participants (Smith, 1999). Concerned in studies within nursing, Geanellos (1998) sought to highlight how this was often left out by researchers. Todres and Wheeler (2001) articulated how nurses' personal experience played into their interpretation of being ill and being cared for. This too can make researchers 'sensitise' towards particular meanings that may otherwise have gone unexplored - creating a researcher led bias to interpretation of experience (Todres and Wheeler, 2001).

Reflexivity provides the reader with the historic, cultural and social political personal context that led to the creation of study as well as to how this context changes and influences the researcher as they continue to engage with the study and participants (Geanellos, 1998; Todres and Wheeler, 2001). It is also important for the reader to appreciate how and why a researcher may interpret a text and, as previous experience can create empathetic understanding, how reflexivity creates distance allowing the researcher to engage with participant interpreted experience (Todres and Wheeler, 2001).

Smith (1999) goes a step further, arguing that the researchers own experience of the research process should be included as an accessible aspect of the data, a point supported by Gadamer who argued that the 'fusion' of both researcher and participants world views is the way in which understanding in enhanced (Smith, 1999). Due to the interpretive nature of this study it is important that I am aware of my position within the hermeneutic circle, and how I am anchored not as a passive instrument, but as implicated within the understanding and creation of the reality sought (Walsham, 1995; May, 2002; Myers, 2013; Dima and Bucuta, 2016). This situated view of interpretation calls for researchers to be reflexively self-aware of their own historicity and prejudice, as prior knowledge informs their interpretation (Koch and Harrington, 1998; Kinsella, 2006).

Reflexivity is seen as a way of overcoming criticism or allegation of researcher bias and is considered important in all forms of social science research, including social psychology (Ashmore, 1989; Koch and Harrington, 1998, Herr and Anderson, 2005). There is an expectation that social scientists will undertake a form of reflexivity to raise awareness (their own and the readers) to the researchers position socially, culturally and politically, identifying the researchers position in space and time as a form of critique and self -appraisal (Kock and Harrington, 1998; Smith, 1999; Bryman and Bell, 2015). Positioning in reflexivity is particularly important when challenging previous interpretations of phenomena and giving credibility to 'other' voices not previously heard (Koch and Harrington, 1998). It should be noted that it is not the intention here to identify, describe, and to 'bracket' these fore-conceptions of the researcher, as perhaps Husserl would recommend. It is not objectivity that is sought here (if such a thing exists) - but transparency and credibility (Koch and Harrington, 1998).

The notion of reflexivity is particularly relevant for myself as I was a serving officer for eighteen years, with the last years' service completed during the first three years of this study, I am also the child of two retired police officers and married to a serving officer. Therefore, I have completed a reflexive diary for this project, capturing my reflexive responses and personal narrative throughout the study. At each stage I have captured my thoughts, not only about the literature and the data analysis, but also

about the process of researching itself, as it affected me, considering that everything has an influence on my ever-developing perspective. Reflexivity should be a many voiced account, including not just the voice of the researcher, but also those voices of their many influences, this is to counter charges of introspection and self-indulgence (Koch and Harrington, 1998). With this in mind this reflexive diary also explores the many influences on my perspective.

In the desire for transparency, and to situation my personal perspective at each stage of the research (including motivation and design of the research) this thesis will include text boxes which will sign post the reader to the related section of reflexive diary included at **Appendix A: Author's Reflexive Diary**.

FOR THE RESEARCHER'S THOUGHTS ON THE RESEARCH DESIGN PLEASE SEE AA4: RESEARCH DESIGN WITHIN APPENDIX A: AUTHOR'S REFLEXIVE DIARY

In taking a hermeneutic approach this study acknowledges the role of the researcher as interpreter of the participant experience, though it should be noted that this analysis, as interpreted by the researcher, will always (despite best efforts) in some way also reflect the researcher, along with the researched and as such provides a further lay of interpretation to the already multi-layered accounts within this research (Brocki and Wearden, 2006; Laverty, 2003; Smith et al., 2009; Roulston, 2010; Kafle, 2011). The accompanying reflexive diary is to aid transparency within this process.

3.3.3 Action Research.

This concept of the researcher being situated within the research, and alongside the participants, leads neatly into the concept of Action Research, which this study

embodies. With its emphasis on research and change, action research is a form of collaboration and participatory research - engaging members of a community in identifying and resolving problematic issues under study (Kumar, 2005; Myers, 2013). Kurt Lewin, a principal founder, is credited with providing action research its theoretical footing, integrating social theory and action through open systems theory (Davison et al., 2004; Myers, 2013; Githens, 2015). This position was further built upon through Lewin's collaboration with the Tavistock Institute. At the end of the Second World War scientists struggled to understand the complexity of the psychological and social illness in soldiers. Tavistock researchers took to intervening in cases by changing an aspect of the patient's environment and recording the results. This led to the development of a body of knowledge on successful therapy (Baskerville and Wood-Harper, 1998; Loveridge et al., 2007; Myers, 2013). An action research approach still informs Tavistock Institute research to this day (Myers, 2013; The Tavistock Institute, 2018). Therefore, this initial development of action research seems pertinent to this research problem at hand, which seeks not only to identify social causes of poor psychological health, but also seeks to challenge and change the social mechanisms leading to reduced individual well-being.

Action research is considered to have two main focuses:

- Collaborative analysis of existing social situation by both researcher and participants: theories are developed identifying focus of change.
- Collaborative change is then enacted within the focus area, and results studied for consequences (intended or not) (Kumar, 2005; Myers, 2013).

Unlike action learning, action research not only seeks to solve organisational problems and address practical concerns, it also seeks to contribute to a body of knowledge through joint collaboration (Davison, et al., 2004; Myers, 2013; Githens, 2015).

3.3.4 Critical Action Research.

Critical action research is an extension of action research and is self-reflective and emancipatory, with a focus on change and social justice (Myers, 2013). Critical action research removes the traditional barriers created by the privileged hierarchical

structure of 'professional researcher' and 'subjects', de-objectifying participants and establishing them as co-researchers; empowering them with the capacity to design and effect meaningful change (Davis, 2012). Taking this approach supports the desire of this study to seek social change through collaboration, establishing a relational relationship between researcher and co-researchers, ensuring that participants are seen as more than resources employed by an organisation and are given a platform for which to exercise their voice (Davis, 2012; Githens, 2015). Taking a critical perspective to action research acknowledges the multi dimensions of experience and strives to be inclusive of different perspectives and interpretations of individual lived experienced, ensuring that the research is grounded in the reality of operational practice (Reason, 1988; Davis, 2012; Githens, 2015).

Reflexivity is relevant when undertaking critical action research: 'the distinctive feature of action research is that the researcher deliberately intervenes' (Myers, 2013:60). The role of researcher in action research changes from one of expert, to one who facilitates and acts as a catalyst for change: an individual who stimulates others to analyse and enact change for themselves (Stringer, 2007). This challenges the perception of the researcher as 'privileged observer, analyst, and critic' (Susman and Evered, 1978:589) and advocates a close relationship between participant, organisation and researcher (Githens, 2015). The use of a reflexive diary is essential in understanding the researchers own experience of motivations within the research.

This study provides the platform, through audio diaries and participant reflective interviews, for participants to identify and analyse the barriers to authentic emotional expression and healthy psychological coping. The findings within these sections of the data enabled the identification of the research problem, through collaborative working between participant and researcher. The final phase of the study explored the lived experience of participants through role play, where officers acted out scenarios from themes identified within the audio diaries. Taking a collaborative approach researcher and participants sort to establish alternate approaches to articulating authentic emotions within the operational and social environment and the changes required to overcome the barriers to authentic

emotional expression (Reason, 1988; Hawkins, 1988; Sharp, 2000; Van Hasselt et al., 2008).

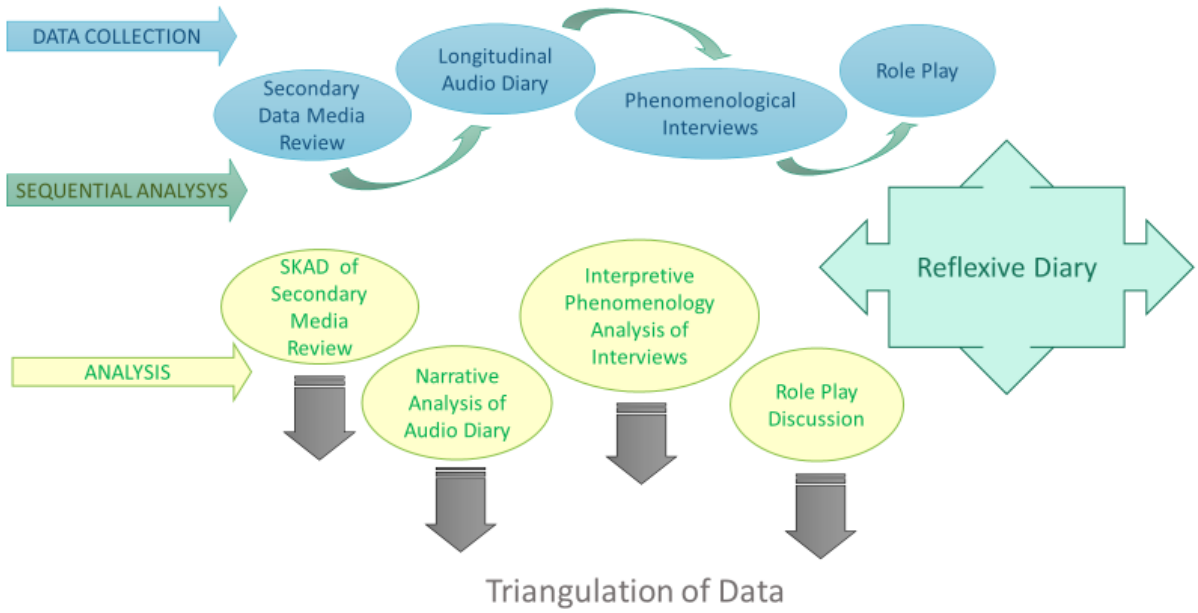
This critical action research approach supports both aims of this research:

- To understand how emotional labour contributes to psychological health within the police service of England and Wales.
- To make recommendations for an operationalised response to support positive emotional expression within the police service.

3.4 Research Design.

With the chosen philosophical approach in mind, this research has been designed using four phases of individual qualitative methods which are sequentially linked, with each phase informing the construction of the next. This is articulated below at **Figure 3 Research Design**.

Fig. 3 Research Design.



The **initial sequential** element of this research design is the thematic analysis of the media items carried out prior to the discourse analysis of the four forms of media. This identified themes from the media review which were then used alongside

themes from the academic literature to inform the design of the second phase of research – the audio diaries. This is the first element of the sequential design.

The **first phase** of analysis, identified the social expectation placed upon police officers examining selected media artefacts, utilising a sociology of knowledge approach to discourse analysis (SKAD) (Keller, 2011). This first phase analysed four forms of media representation of police officers and identified discourses on emotional expression, as communicated to the wider public and society.

The **second phase** utilised audio diaries to capture the emotional narrative of 27 officers across 12 police services within England and Wales. The diary entries were analysed using Critical Narrative Analysis. Prior to this being completed, the first 25 audio diaries received were subject to thematic analysis, which informed the structure of the phenomenological interviews in the third phase. This continued the sequential nature of this research design and provided greater depth to the data collected in the third stage.

The **third phase** of research examined Phenomenological reflexive interviews of both serving and ex-police officers, analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). This third stage added greater depth to the data and provided the opportunity to further explore some of the issues raised in the initial data collection phases. Taking a different approach to the data collection provided a different perspective to the study, creating a richer and fuller picture of the phenomena under examination.

The **fourth phase** of research moves from a problem identification process to problem resolution and engaged participants through role play, underpinned by the principles of psychodrama. This phase of study presented to serving officers the initial findings of the study and, utilising scenarios constructed out of the data, took a participant collaborative approach to designing an operationalised response to positive emotional expression within the police service.

Triangulation: once all the data has been analysed the findings were triangulated and discussed in light of the literature, highlighting theoretical and knowledge contributions and providing recommendations.

3.5 Data Collection.

3.5.1 Phase One - Secondary Data Review of Police Officer Representation in the Media.

For the first phase of this research, and to underpin the development of the primary data capture and analysis, a secondary data review was conducted examining how police officers are represented within the media, film, and literary fiction. This initial data review provides another perspective and wider view of the overall context of the emotional labour phenomena, providing a limited exploration of the historicality that informs and gives meaning to societal and officer construction of emotional experience (Laverty, 2003; Moore, 2006).

It was the desire of this study to understand how officers, prior to joining the police service, are influenced in their understanding as to what it is to be a police officer - and how this continues to be reinforced and to influence their behaviour whilst serving in their chosen career. It was also important to understand how the wider public are influenced in their construction of police officer identity, and how this is transferred on to police officers. This element of the research is underpinned by the concept of identity politics, which engages with the construction of social identities and roles that go unquestioned and unchallenged within society or by the individuals subjected to them (Gergen, 1999). Social Identity Theory develops on this point in arguing that social identity is developed through symbolic interaction, where individuals new to an organisation or group resolve any ambiguity in behaviour not just through interpersonal interaction, but through non-interpersonal and indirect interactions, highlighting how employees can come to understand organisational identity through medium such as product adverts (Ashforth and Mael, 1989). It can be hypothesised that police officers and the public alike come to understand the expected behaviour of police officers, less through personal contact (which is often limited within an individual's life time, if lucky) but through symbolic representation via the many different medium available.

3.5.1.1 Sample Selection.

The media sample selection and subsequent analysis is necessarily restricted due to time and resource constraints and is not meant to be a representative sample.

The media selected is taken from the year 2016. This is to compliment the author's previous study (Lennie et al., 2019) which collected data in the same year and informs the design of this research. The sample contains artefacts relating to the representation of British police officers - however, it is recognised that the depiction of police officers from other countries would also influence the construction of the police officer archetype. In particular, the large coverage of American police officers which the British public is exposed to, therefore 'Triple 9' (an American feature film) is included as it was the most viewed police procedural in the UK for the chosen year.

Four media platforms were selected; literary fiction, feature film, television drama, television documentary. These were considered to be the typical medium through which the public were exposed to the concept of police work and police officers. For each type of media, the first police procedural in the relevant bestseller or most popular ranking lists were chosen for analysis:

- The book *Missing, Presumed* was selected from the literary fiction medium, ranked 46 in the Guardian 100 top bestseller list of 2016 (Dugdale, 2016).
- The feature film *Triple 9* was selected from the film medium, the film was ranked 113 by Box Office Mojo (according to highest grossing) and was the first police procedural (IMDbPro, no date).
- The television drama *Happy Valley* was selected from the television drama medium and was the 17th most watched television programme in Britain, 2016 according to the Broadcaster's Audience Research Board viewing figures for 2016. This was also the first police procedural in viewing ranking. Episode 4 was chosen out of 6 possible episodes of series 2, 2016, this was a random choice.
- The television documentary *Traffic Cops* was selected from the television documentary medium according to the Broadcaster's Audience Research Board viewing figures for 2016 . This television documentary was the 246 most watched TV programme in Britain, 2016 and the first police documentary by viewing ranking.

3.5.2 Phase Two - Audio Diary.

This second phase of data collection sought to capture the lived experience of officers, over a period of time - exploring officers' lives throughout the different emotional and psychological spaces of operational work, the office, home, private, family, and social settings.

Audio diaries were chosen as a method as they allow for a more immediate capture of emotional narrative and are less onerous for the participant than traditional methods (Monrouxe, 2009; Williamson et al., 2014; Crozier and Cassell, 2015). This method is supported by the concept of storytelling as a means to expressing and understanding emotions and improving participant emotional processing and coping (Lazarus, 1991; Pennebaker and Seagal, 1999; Lawler, 2002; Beatty, 2010; Kleres, 2010). Audio diaries also provide less processed accounts as they are a naturally reflexive method, invaluable for capturing the cognitive process underpinning emotional experience and in the moment sense making of experiences (Crozier and Cassell, 2015; Lundin et al., 2018; Lennie et al, 2019). The improvement in technology in recent years has made this method even more accessible for both participants and researcher, with participants in this study utilising existing voice memo facilities on personal smart phones, which allows the recording to be sent directly to the researcher via email (at the click of a button). This advance in the method removed some of the previous issues encountered by participants (carrying a Dictaphone; getting the recording to the researcher); providing greater flexibility and freedom as and when to record entries, which also facilities greater privacy for the participant - essential in supporting the capture of an open and frank accounts of sensitive and other wise prohibited (emotions) subjects (Crozier et al., 2015; Williamson et al., 2015). As the technology for recording is already accessible to the participant and fairly intuitive, this created a distance between myself and the participants as the majority were set up for data recovery via email and on the phone. The ease of data collection also meant that geographical location was not a barrier, and participants were recruited throughout England and Wales.

Audio diary and more traditional diary methods have typically suffered due to a lack of familiarity on behalf of participants - and self-selection can be driven by cultural and individual differences that influence a comfort with self-narration and self-recording (Williamson et al., 2015). However, it was felt that this form of data capture was actually more familiar to police officers, who are used to using radio channels and recording themselves interviewing, or out on the street using body worn cameras - and self-reflection is a daily occurrence with the completion of pocket note books and personal witness statements; therefore any cultural barriers are likely more easily overcome.

Indeed, many participants reported a therapeutic experience in making regular recordings. Similar to other studies, a conversational style was undertaken where participants created a virtual relationship with the researcher where they were able to open up with someone who had knowledge of their line of work and shared their experience (Monroux, 2009; Sargeant and Gross, 2011). This method also provided space for participants to verbalise otherwise unspoken emotions, which is a therapeutic technique that is known to alleviate stress and distress through the confrontation of emotionally challenging events (Pennebaker and O'Heeron, 1984; Pennebaker, 1993). This aspect of the method has been highlighted by earlier studies, but also openly expressed by participants within this study who quickly recognised the therapeutic benefit of being able to express their inner emotions (Pennebaker, 1993; Travers, 2011).

This method allows participants to articulate their internal and authentic emotional experiences and their perception of emotional management requirements (Smith et al., 1997; Brocki and Weardeon, 2006; Monroux, 2009; Crozier and Cassell, 2016). In a comparison study between audio diary and interview Williamson et al. (2015) found that diary entries provided a more detailed and in-depth reflection of day to day experience, which was often summarised within interviews. This method also supported the concept of 'historicity' in critical hermeneutic research where participants naturally would give historical context to situations, relationships, or emotional responses to situations, providing a more in-depth exploration of experience and perception (Myers, 2013; Dima and Bucuta, 2016).

The diary design followed that of previous studies (Holt and Dunn, 2004; Crozier et al., 2015) and provided a prompt sheet for participants (Appendix B: Audio Diary Prompt Sheet). This provided structure and focus to the recorded reflections and complete freedom in the time that participants chose to dedicate to each reflective narrative, whilst still maintaining a distance between myself and the participants. This also reflects learning from earlier studies which linked an unstructured request to higher attrition rates (Latham, 2003). It was certainly evidenced from correspondence with some participants that they found the guidance (as this is how it was described - rather than being a prescriptive set of rules) reassuring and at times a helpful prompt. At other times participants gave free accounts, particularly when they were emotionally and temporally close to the event. Participants were also given freedom to choose which experiences they wish to discuss, this allowed them to explore emotional tensions back within their family and social environments. This expanded this study beyond that of many others which either restricted research to discrete emotions, or emotions experienced within the operational environment. The only guidance that participants were given in terms of what to record, was to ensure that when describing operational events that they did not give away any sensitive information, or anything by which members of the public could be identified.

3.5.2.1 Sample.

Purposive sampling was undertaken, with participant selection restricted to serving officers of Inspector and below (both detective and uniform) who had regular contact with members of the public, either face to face or over the phone. It was anticipated that this would be the group of officers most exposed to emotionally demanding events and offered the greatest opportunity for reflection. This selection also allowed the research to focus on a closely defined group, which is significantly relevant to the research aim of exploring emotional experience and modulation (Smith and Osborn, 2008; Bryman et al., 2015; Dima and Bucuta, 2016). Selection was limited to officers from forces in England and Wales, as it was felt that both the Police Service of Northern Ireland and Police Scotland had unique challenges and

structures, and that they were too different to be included within the population under study. However, this is not withstanding that both of these organisations warrant study in their own right. Participants were not restricted by age, length of service, gender, or any other demographic.

Participants were recruited through a number of avenues. Two forces were approached directly through the researcher's previously established contacts. From here adverts (Appendix C: Audio Diary Participant Advert) for the research were placed on internal intranet sites, with contact details provided so that prospective participants could contact myself direct. As an outcome of my networking I was invited to write two blogs for police related online sites. The first was Policing Insight (https://policinginsight.com/author/sarah-jane/) and the second was a similar version for Oscar Kilo (https://oscarkilo.org.uk/blog-sarah-jane-lennie-research/). This allowed me to expand fully on my personal experience as an officer with mental health struggles, and the motivation behind the research. I used these opportunities to increase my access to potential participants, who were invited to take part in the study, and again I provided my contact details within the blogs. The final approach to participant recruitment was through my personal networks, in particular through the British police twitter community, where I am active. This provided exposure to a very wide audience, where potential participants could make contact directly for more information. From here there was a small element of snowballing where officers encouraged their colleagues to participate (Roulston, 2010). As a result of the approaches taken to participant recruitment, i.e. not targeting people I had previously worked with, I only knew one participant personally.

The initial response to recruitment was significant - well over a hundred, but once potential participants become aware of the longitudinal nature of the data collection this quickly reduced. At the conclusion of the data collection, 27 participants engaged with the process, providing a total of 137 diary entries, totalling 25 hrs, 16 mins, 38 secs. The shortest diary being seven minutes and sixteen seconds long and the longest diary entry totalling two hundred and fifteen minutes and thirty-three seconds. The number of diary entries completed by individual participants ranged from one to eighteen. This phase of data collection spanned from January 2018

through to October 2018. The sample group composed 11 uniformed constables, 3 detective constables, 7 uniform sergeants, 3 detective sergeants and 3 detective inspectors. The areas they came from were: Offender Management, Uniform Response, Counter Terrorist Unit, Tactical Vehicle Unit, Safe Guarding Unit, Firearms, Divisional CID, Sexual Offences Unit, Public Protection Unit, Major Investigation Team, and Roads Policing.

REFLECTIONS ON RECRUITING PARTICIPANTS TO THIS STUDY - APPENDIX A: AUTHOR'S REFLEXIVE DIARY AA5: PARTICIPANT RECRUITMENT

3.5.2.2 Data Management and Ethical Considerations.

All participants were sent a participant information sheet via email, prior to speaking with myself, this gave them time to consider the research and their potential involvement in it (Appendix D: Audio Diary Participant Information Sheet). Once I had discussed the research and the method and answered any questions, I provided each participant with a prompt sheet and they all signed and returned consent forms after we spoke. This conversation also included talking through the technical aspects of recording as well as to discuss the reflection process. All participants recorded their diary entries on either their work or personal mobile phones using voice record applications already available on their devices. These in-phone applications provided the facility to email recordings direct from the participant to myself. This provided the first element of anonymity, where participants were provided a participant number through by which to carry out any correspondence. Once the diary entries were received, they were listened to for sound quality and then down loaded and stored in a file where they were only identifiable via participant number. This was then saved on an external hard drive which was password protected. Prior to analysis

the diary entries were transcribed by myself, adding to the level of security around the data, and the transcriptions were once again stored on an external hard drive under the corresponding participant number.

3.5.3 Phase Three - Phenomenological Reflexive Semi-Structured Interviews.

The third phase of data collection sought to build and expand upon general themes identified within the second phase, continuing the sequential design of this research. Utilising a semi-structured interview method, post audio diary, allows the researcher to guide the participants' reflection so that it was more focussed, and greater depth and exploration could be achieved in areas that were raised within the audio diary, but not further developed. Although this brought the researcher directly into the construction of the narrative, it was felt that this was an appropriate risk as less researcher influenced accounts were obtained through the audio diary, and it was this data that was being further developed and directed in this third phase of data collection. This gave greater confidence to the integrity of the data and highlights the argument for using a number of different qualitative methods to obtain rich data. To achieve this it was decided to use a phenomenological interview strategy, as this supported the capture of detailed and in depth description of lived experience (Roulston, 2010). Interviews focussed on using open questions, which allowed participants to provide answers in their own words, exploring feelings, perceptions and understandings of the emotional labour phenomena (Roulston, 2010).

A semi-structured interview design was used to provide flexibility and harnesses the researcher's ability to modify questions in response to participant answers (Smith and Osborn, 2008; Dica and Bucuta, 2016). It was felt that this approach was useful as the researcher could guide the interview through follow up questions to cover areas of interest that were generated out of the audio diaries, and which were considered to warrant further exploration. The concept of the participant-situation reflexive interview was also addressed throughout the interviews as this further focussed on the reflexivity on the part of the participant - therefore not only discussing their own experiences but reflecting on how those experiences fitted with

the wider phenomenon (Riach, 2009). This was done through presenting participants with the themes identified within the audio diaries and asking participants if this reflected their life experience, and how. This overall structure and concept of the interview was informed by Bevan (2014), engaging the participant in the three phases of Contextualisation, Apprehending the Phenomenon, and Clarifying the Phenomenon. The use of semi-structured interviews also lent itself to Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) which also seeks to 'tap into a natural propensity for self-reflection on the part of participants' (Smith et al., 1997:68 for further see Analysis section below).

3.5.3.1 Sample.

This phase of the thesis used IPA to analyse the phenomenological interviews. IPA is an idiographic method and is used to analyse in-depth individual accounts requiring intensive analysis of experienced phenomena. IPA is used here for its interpretative quality so that the research could truly explore the individual lived experience of emotional labour, drawing on the rich data found within the interviews, using an iterative method where the researcher becomes truly immersed within the participants' experience. With this in mind a small sample size was obtained, which is typical for IPA studies. IPA has specific epistemological commitments and is not looking for generalizability, and indeed, rejects the concept of reduction (Smith et al., 1997; Smith and Osborn, 2008; Kafle, 2011). Here, quality of data is of first importance, representativeness is secondary (Ogbonna and Harris, 2004).

For phenomenological interviews to be effective it is important that participants selected are able to talk about the lived experience under examination (Roulston, 2010). Therefore, purposive sampling was once again undertaken, this time the sample population was restricted to serving officers of Inspector and below (including detectives), and retired officers (who retired in the last ten years) recruited from the national police network. This use of multiple case study supports the triangulation of data to identify themes, enrich findings and explore commonality of experience (Cowley et al., 2000; Thompson, 2004, Yin, 2014). The inclusion of ex-officers is a unique contribution within this thesis and the wider academic literature

as they provide a perspective that is very rarely captured within research. Including ex-officers' accounts within this thesis is also particularly pertinent to the phenomenon under consideration – ex-officers may well provide less restricted accounts if they perceive that they are no longer governed by the feeling and display rules of police officers.

Again, the researchers' personal network was used to recruit participants from the online police Twitter community, tweeting out a request for volunteers. This provided a large reach as the tweet was re-tweed by existing members into their own communities. This meant that again, all but one of the participants were unknown to myself. Four serving officers and six retired officers contributed to the study, all came from different forces across England and Wales. The serving officers comprised of a detective inspector, a uniformed sergeant and a detective sergeant and a uniformed constable. They came from a neighbourhood team, an investigation hub, a tasking team and divisional criminal investigation department. They had between 6 and 27 years' in service. The ex-officers comprised of a detective constable, uniformed constable, 2 uniformed sergeants, an inspector and 1 chief inspector. They had completed between 10 and 30 years' of service.

3.5.3.2 Data Management and Ethical Considerations.

Each participant was emailed a participant information sheet (Appendix E: Interview Participant Information Sheet) and the interview questions (Appendix F: Interview Questions) prior to the interview to give them time to consider not only their answers, but also if they felt able to continue with the interview. Once confirmed, participants returned signed consent forms via email, except for one participant who provided a hard copy on a face to face interview. Interviews were either conducted over the phone or in person and were recorded on a hand-held Dictaphone and smart phone (for back up). The digital recording from the Dictaphone was then downloaded onto a computer and saved onto an external hard drive using a participant number for anonymity. Interviews were then transcribed by myself, prior to the analysis, and stored on an external hard drive.

3.5.4 Phase Four - Role Play and Psychodrama.

The final phase of data collection moves from problem identification to problem resolution and responds to the 5th and final research question:

- How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health?

In line with the Critical Action Research approach to this study, serving officers were engaged to collaborate and participate in identifying potential solutions.

This took the form of two one day workshops where groups of serving officers were taken through a presentation and discussion of the initial research findings (secondary data review, audio diaries and serving officer interviews), they were also introduced to the theories underpinning the research (emotional labour, reflective practice and action research). This stimulated discussion between the participants as to how they experienced the culture around emotional expression within the police and how this had affected them.

The second half of the workshop involved a role play written by the researcher (Appendix G: Role Play Scenarios and Scripts) and a discussion group. The role play took the form of a pre provided scenario where the protagonist attended the scene of a murder on their own. They entered a domestic premises, where they were attacked by the murderer and lost their baton as the murderer fled. The protagonist then attempted to save the life of the victim. The protagonist is then deployed to accompany the victim to the hospital. There are two other members of the team who support the protagonist and the team sergeant. The role play begins back in the station and participants are allocated roles to play out and demonstrate how they would behave (as their character). There is also the addition of another officer from another team who brings the humour into the scenario. As part of the role play the team sergeant debriefs the protagonist in the report writing room in front of the other officers, they then hold a 121 with the protagonist before going home. The role play was designed from a number of incidents taken from the data collection and the researcher's own personal experience. The role play was used to support an

in-depth exploration of officers' engagement with feeling rules, exploring perceptions of internal emotional experience contrasted against external emotional display, in accordance with organisational and cultural requirements. Role play is a method that sits naturally in the context of policing, which is a profession taught through role play within training, preparation for large scale events, and used within recruitment selection and promotion centres (Sharp, 2000; Van Hasselt et al., 2008). Exploring the use of surface acting and deep acting, this method was underpinned by the concept and principles of Psychodrama. Psychodrama is a group psychotherapy that uses action and role play to explore and enact life situations and the participant's experience of them, and is recognised as a technique to explore research and personal development in an non clinical setting (Kellermann, 1992; Wilkins, 1999; Azoulay and Orkibi, 2015; British Psychodrama Association, 2017).

Moreno (founder of psychodrama) argued that 'every role has two sides, a private and a collective side' (Moreno, 1946 cited in Azoulay and Orkibi, 2015:10). This truly embodies the concept of social psychology in the sense that social behaviour is understood from the inner experience as well as the observable outer behaviour (Kellermann, 1992). This perspective supports the use of psychodrama in the phenomenological study of emotional labour and emotional inauthenticity (Hawkins, 1988). Moreno (1974 cited in Kellermann, 1992: 37) 'characterized psychodrama as a form of phenomenological psychotherapy' and recognised it in supporting emancipatory phenomenological research (Kellerman, 1992). Solutions are sought through group creativity and spontaneity and are used to explore past, present and future events (British Psychodrama Association, 2017; Wilkins, 1999). Existential psychodrama takes an emancipatory stance in supporting the exploration of the authentic self and liberation from others' and their own false perceptions (Kellermann, 1992). This supports the hermeneutic phenomenological underpinning of this research that is deeply concerned with context and historicality. Psychodrama is also known to support cognitive insight, interpersonal feedback and behavioural learning utilising processes such as *action-insight* - the process of looking inwards for inner truth and contrasting to the outer world (Kellerman, 1992).

Prior to the role play participants worked through a 'warm up' as recommend for role play/psychodrama sessions (Kellerman, 1992; Karp, 2010). The warm up used was a simple game of participants writing three unusual things about themselves on a piece of paper and then taking turns in selecting a paper from a hat and reading the three items aloud to the group, where upon the group tried to decide who was the author.

After the warm up, participants commenced the role play. The role play process differed from that of psychodrama in that it didn't ask a protagonist to act out an aspect of their life, it was felt that this would be too intrusive for the level of this research and had the potential to become too distressing for participants. Instead the researcher provided a pre written scenario that provided five character backgrounds and a detail of events - all were derived from the interim audio diary analysis and the researcher's personal experience. This allowed the participants to act the given scenarios 'in-character'. Participants who were not acting roles were given observer sheets (Appendix H: Role Play Observer Sheets) and allocated a character to observe. Roles were also reversed, following the principal of psychodrama, allowing participants to experience the others' perspective (Kellerman, 1992). Once the different scenes were acted out the researcher encouraged conversation about how the different characters were feeling, and why they had behaved in the way that they did. In psychodrama this aspect of the work is known as *sharing* and encourages the participants to identify with the protagonist and to support each other in their understanding whilst seeking ways in which to resolve the issue at hand (Kellerman, 1992). The sharing is also seen as a therapeutic experience of purging, where participants 'purge themselves of emotions or insights gained' (Karp, 2010:8). It is within the sharing that the learning process is captured, and the effectiveness of the session is measured by the depth of the sharing (Karp, 2010). As Karp explains:

> 'Psychodrama brings out the internal drama so that the drama within becomes the drama outside oneself' (2010:8)

After the sharing participants were asked to engage in a round table discussion of possible operational and organisational solutions to the issues identified throughout the day.

Throughout the day the researcher engaged in participant observation. This method was used to capture how participants behaved towards each other and with each other in a neutral environment, and also capture interaction with the researcher. This seemed a most appropriate way to capture the observable element of the phenomenon under study and how participants interact based on a shared (or otherwise) understanding (Jorgensen, 1989). This added approach also added to the depth and richness of the data.

The role plays and discussions were audio and visually recorded on iphone, Dictaphone, and omni-directional recording media, which allowed for the capture of multiple voices from different directions.

3.5.4.1 Sample.

One group of participants were students in the first year of a Bachelors' in Policing (in-service) course. The opportunity to engage with these student/officers came through the researcher's personal network on Twitter, where they were invited to speak at a university and subsequently afforded the opportunity to enlist a group of students as participants. The second group who attended the workshop were again recruited through the police Twitter network and included some participants who had declined to take part in the audio diary process or interview. Three of this second group were involved in earlier aspects of the research, one had given an interview and the other two recorded audio diaries. All of the participants were of the rank of inspector and under and came from a variety of forces across England and Wales.

3.5.4.2 Data Management and Ethical Considerations.

Prior to the workshops the participants received a copy of the participant information sheet, this was circulated to the group of students by their course leader. On the day participants were initially appraised of the interim findings of the study and the theories used within the data collection, the process of research and publication was also explained. Participants were then asked to sign consent forms. Within the university group, some students who worked in covert operations declined to be recorded and either avoided the camera or stayed quiet during recording. They and

other participants were reassured that this was completely acceptable and understandable within their current operational roles. The role play was recorded on the researchers lap top, via an Omni-directional microphone and recording package, and visually captured on my smart phone, which was set up to record on a stand in the corner of the room, near to the action. The sharing/discussion group was recorded on Dictaphone and the Omni-directional microphone, with the use of a smart phone as back up. The Dictaphone recording was uploaded onto the researcher's lap top and transferred to the external hard drive as was the audible recording of the role play. The visual recording was uploaded to the cloud and then transferred onto the external hard drive, as this was a particularly large file to move.

3.6 Analysis Procedures.

3.6.1 Initial Thematic Analysis to Support Sequential Design.

Enabling the sequential design of this study, thematic analysis was carried out between each data phase, allowing each phase to support the design of the next. This allows for as many perspectives as possible to be considered within the study. Thematic analysis was chosen as it is a flexible method that allows the researcher to direct the focus and depth of the analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In this instance the researcher had significant time constraints as each thematical analysis was carried between data collection phases, in order to inform the next phase. Therefore, the analysis conducted was required to be quick, but informative. Thematic analysis is once more applied later on in the analysis process (audio diary data corpus), where it is significantly more directed and thorough.

Initially thematic analysis was carried out of the four selected media data items (book, film, television series, documentary). Typically for a sequential design the data set examined is not saturated or complete as within the final data corpus (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It was anticipated that the broad themes obtained would give a good enough indication and be useful for informing the next stage of research. The themes indeed identified an emotional aspect of officer behaviour that was reiterated throughout the data or key to officer emotional behaviour and was

therefore a theoretical focussed thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The initial thematic coding analysis of the media set which contributed to the design of the audio diary prompt sheet can be found at Appendix I: Initial Coding Contribution for Audio Diaries.

3.6.1.2 Method.

This thematic analysis followed the step-by-step guide provided by Braun and Clarke (2006:87) found at Table One: Step-by-Step Thematic Analysis

Table One: Step-by-Step Thematic Analysis.

Phase	Description of the Process
1. Familiarizing yourself with the data:	Transcribing data (if necessary, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4.Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic map of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specific of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

This brief analysis was used to inform the construction of the prompt sheets used for the audio diary method at phase 2. This information was combined with the theoretical concepts and elements of the extant literature.

Once phase 2 data collection was under way, 25 of the diary entries were identified and constructed as a data set and were transcribed and subjected to the same step-by-step process - the themes from this data set were used to inform the construction of the semi-structured interview structure. These can be found at Appendix J: Audio Diary Coding Contribution for Interview Structure. They were also used, alongside the IPA of the serving officer interviews as a way of relaying the interim data findings to the workshop participants, in the final stage of the research design.

3.6.2 Phase One: Discourse Analysis of Secondary Data Review of Police Officer Representation in the Media.

Discourse analysis (DA) was first introduced through the study of linguistics and is concerned with language 'in use' (Starks and Trinidad, 2007). Discourse analysists argue that DA is not just the study of words and language, as they are in themselves meaningless, but how, through the construct and sequence of sentences, syntax and phrasing, we create shared understanding and socially accepted meaning. Indeed, through language we construct our understanding of reality, shape our social roles and communicate our identities (Starks and Trinidad, 2007; Gee, 2014). The context or perspective from which a person speaks informs interpretation and in turn forms identity and allows us to absorb social identity: 'we interpret saying and doing in terms of identities... as different kinds of people or roles in society' (Gee, 2014:96).

Gee (2014) articulated the concept of Figured Worlds as taken for granted or unconscious theories or stories about how the world works. These figured worlds are learnt from lived experience, and through social groups and culture, and establish what is normal or typical (Starks and Trinidad, 2007; Gee, 2014).

Gee (2014) quotes Holland (1993:96)

> ‘A socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others. Each is a simplified world populated by a set of agents who engage in a limited range of meaningful acts or changes of state as moved by a specific set of forces.’

3.6.2.1 The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse.

There are a number of forms of DA in use which were considered by the researcher but The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD) was chosen as most appropriate for this study. SKAD focusses on the process and practice of power/knowledge production and circulation at the level of institutional fields and that of social actors and is concerned with the analysis of the social consequences of these processes, including the power of institutions (Keller, 2011; Herzig and Moon, 2013; Keller, 2015).

SKAD originates from the social constructionist theory of Berger and Luckman (1996) and links to symbolic interactionism, hermeneutic sociology of knowledge, and the discourse theories of Foucault; and, therefore shares a philosophical underpinning sympathetic to that of this study (Keller, 2011; Keller, 2015). This approach also goes further than an analysis of language-in-use. Foucault viewed discourses as socio-historically situated practices. In his work the Archaeology of Knowledge, Foucault (cited in Keller, 2011:47) argued for the study of oral and written text, articles, books, discussion, et c. as they are performed by social actors, institutions and knowledge systems, and to analyse bottom up the structure of discourse and how they structure the power/knowledge domain. It is this main point of Foucault’s discursive constitution of power/knowledge and Berger and Luckman’s (1996) Social Construction of Reality that underpin SKAD (Keller, 2011). Both theories take the position that everything that we experience or perceive is mediated through socially constructed knowledge, via symbolic social systems that are produced through discourse (Herzig and Moon, 2013; Keller, 2015). Indeed, SKAD identifies socially structured rules and norms around performance of speech, constitution of meaning, and resources for action (Keller, 2018). It is here that SKAD differs from Critical

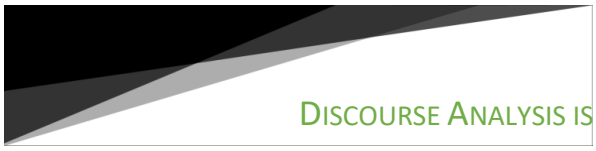
Discourse Analysis (CDA), in that CDA seeks to identify the strategic use of language as power for manipulation, (typically looking at singular discourse) but does not explore the wider sociohistorical processing of knowledge within larger institutional fields and social arenas (Berger and Luckman, 1966; Keller, 2011).

It is this particular aspect that makes SKAD the most appropriate approach for this phase of the research. The role and identity of the police officer is steeped in the historicity of a particularly large institutional field, threaded with symbolic ordering that is powerful and far reaching. This section of the study is interested in how the emotional identity of police officers is socially constructed outside of the institution and communicated through society and social process, subjecting an officer even prior to their admission into the institution, and at the same time continuing whilst they operate within the institution. How this effects officer actions within the institution, and in wider social settings sees that this approach to discourse analysis supports the fourth objective of this research:

> 4. To explore the media image of police officer's emotional labour, and how these link with police officer's perceptions of feeling rules.

3.6.2.2 Method.

Keller (2018) argues that SKAD supports research experimentation and new conceptual thinking around the exploration of social phenomenon. With this in mind SKAD draws on the German hermeneutic tradition of methodological reflection as expressed by Soeffner. This approach argues that there is no one single truth sitting behind the data and any interpretation made by the researcher must be openly and accurately accounted for, as must the position of the researcher in making the interpretation (Keller, 2005; Keller, 2011). Also, not everything can be said or done, and often is implied. Therefore, interpretation within the research process is unavoidable and this is supported by the approach of this study which argues for reflexive transparency of the researcher who is directly implicated in the co-construction and interpretation of the phenomena (Engelhardt, 2015; Keller, 2018). This aspect of SKAD is accounted for within the reflexive diary (Appendix A: Author's Reflexive Diary).



DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IS CONSIDERED BY THE RESEARCHER IN THE REFLEXIVE DIARY AT APPENDIX A AUTHOR'S REFLEXIVE DIARY AA6: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Keller (2011)

breaks down the dimensions of SKAD into three main areas: Knowledge Configuration, Discourse Production, Power Effects.

Knowledge configuration is further broken down into interpretative schemes, augmentation clusters, classifications, phenomenal structures and narrative structures. Further defining into (argumentative) legitimating elements, subject positions, and discourse generated model practices. All of which create the interpretative repertoire of discourse which rely on existing social knowledge whilst at the same time creating new interpretative stances. **Interpretative Schemes** are social and collective meanings that are applied to knowledge patterns eg. Romantic love is an example of pattern applied to romantic relationships. **Argumentation Clusters** are typically related to political issues and emanate out of specific discourse strand and strategic orientation. **Classifications** are a formalised and institutional form of social typification process, where language separates the world into categories which are used to underpin social interpretation and identity construction. **Phenomenal** structure includes cognitive devices such as object names, relations between concepts, causal schemes, urgencies and legitimations for action. Here the method of coding and memos as in Grounded Theory (Strauss, 1998 cited in Keller, 2005) is recommended. **Narrative** structure ties together interpretative schemes through story line and plot and are a way of ordering the human experience of the world (Keller, 2005; Keller, 2011: Keller, 2018).

Discourse Production is the examination of the 'interaction between social actors and speaker positions, institutional and organisational arrangements, discursive and

none discursive practices' (Keller, 2011:60). Social actors draw on speaker or subject positions to interpret their position towards them (and in doing so give them credit and realization); speaker positions are roles that can be adopted under specific conditions (e.g. through gaining qualifications), subject positions, or identity offerings, are positioning processes through patterned subjection which are articulated through discourse. Discourse production is conducted within the framework of institutional forms and includes media and artefacts of statement production.

Power-Effects follows the work of Foucault who are argued that power and knowledge are as one. SKAD looks for the intended and unintended effects that emerge as a result of the examined discourse. Consequences can appear as interconnections between agents, institutional organisational processes, artefacts, discursive and non-discursive practices. Such consequences are created wholly out of single discourse but rely to some extent on existing social practice or what is alternatively described as the 'centrality of culture' (Hall, 1997 cited in Keller, 2018:18; Keller, 2011).

Keller (2005; 2011) does not provide prescriptive steps in method choice or the analytical process other than to re-emphasise the self-reflexive element of interpretative research, and the mosaic building of discourse through multiple textual, oral, visual, and other artefacts as data types (Hornidge et al, 2018, Keller, 2018). Indeed, the focus of SKAD moves beyond the singular data set arguing that one document is only a fragment of discourse and a combination of data is required - this sits well with the data collected for this phase of the study (Keller, 2005; Keller, 2011). Keller also reaffirms the social construction underpinnings of SKAD, in that it is wholly construction work and therefore 'generate types of statements that were not in the actual data as such and could not have been' (Keller, 2011:63).

3.6.3. Phase Two: Critical Narrative Analysis of Audio Diary Data.

Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) was undertaken of the audio diary entries, embracing the constructed and subjective nature of accounts. This harnessed the emancipatory effect of voicing a previously silenced experience and induces

empathy, bridging social and individual experience (Riessman, 2001; Myers, 2013). Using CNA as a follow on from SKAD echoes the thoughts of Souto-Manning (2014) who argued that CNA could not be truly Critical until first Social Discourse Analysis had been undertaken to identify the power and influence of social and institutional discourse on individual construction of narrative and self-construction of reality. As Souto-Manning (2014) highlights, individuals are often obliged to be receivers of social discourse through various media, but often narrative analysis is conducted in isolation from the context and power of institutional and social discourse. In this study this is addressed through SKAD analysis of the media review. From here the study goes onto the analysis of the individual stories told by participants as they co-construct their reality in relation, and as subjugated, to the power of society and institutional discourse (Souto-Manning, 2014). This supports the hermeneutic circular analytical intention of this study, as this will identify and explore intra-personal level, social and structural relationships within the historical context (Lazarus, 1999; Lawler, 2002; Laverty, 2003; Fraser, 2004; Elliott, 2005).

Stories are a way of making sense of the social world, and is a way that individuals construct their identity within the world (Lawler, 2002). Taking a view of constructed narrative as a form of storytelling and performance, particularly in light of the virtual relationship that was established with the researcher over the diary entries, this study takes a performative perspective to narrative analysis (Riessman, 2003; Crozier et al., 2015). This also continues to recognise how individuals construct their identity through social interaction and forging connections between the past, present and future (Riessman, 1993; Riessman, 2003, Lawler, 2002). Initially this element of the study is ideographical; capturing multiple individual and authentic experiences of emotion and emotional identity construction (Frosh and Baraister, 2008; Bryman et al., 2015). Narrative is considered to contain plot line, characters and transformation, brought together through emplotment - a synthesis between events, discordance and concordance and different senses of time. This also involves the linking of the past to the present and the individual to the collective (Laweler, 2002). This is further examined through Burke's five elements of dramatisation: act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose (Burke, cited in Riessman, 1993:19). Narrative is also

analysed for expressions of emotional labour, identifying: feeling and display rules and how they are communicated, surface acting and deep acting, emotional suppression, emotional dissonance (Hochschild, 1983). Finally, indications of psychological strain in terms of burnout and dissociation are highlighted (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Lanius et al. 2010; American Psychiatric Association, 2013)

Following on from this element, thematic analysis is conducted across the narratives set against identified themes of emotional labour, articulated as initial codes, which are drawn out from the existing literature (Appendix I: Initial Coding Contribution to Audio Diaries) (Bambrick, 2013; Spencer et al., 2014). This has included utilising Lazarus' (1999) prototypical examples of 15 emotions, described by Lazarus (1999) as the basic shared understanding of an emotional category and Hochschild's (2003) 19 nameable emotions. However, this analysis also identifies psychological themes relating to the phenomenal experience of emotional labour including burnout and dissociation as identified within the literature (Maslach and Jackson, 1991 and American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Typically, these are not indicated through a particular word or phrase but are drawn through the inference of an extended passage of narrative (McAdams, 2012). The step-by-step process identified at Table One: Step-by-Step Thematic Analysis, was once again followed as the researcher found this to be a clear structure to follow, which assisted with articulating and presenting the findings. Once the thematic review of the idiographic narrative had been undertaken, then this data was integrated and analysed from a nomothetic perspective. This identified commonality of experience within the organisation; with the first level of analysis being descriptive and the second making theoretical and formal connections (Riessman, 1993; Crozier et al., 2015; Dima and Bucuta, 2016). An iterative process was employed, and the data was scanned back and forth, considering the narrative from different perspectives, preventing a rigid reliance on the concepts drawn out in the extant literature (Fraser, 2004).

3.6.4 Phase Three: Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) of Phenomenological Reflexive Interviews.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) has a theoretical underpinning of Heidegger's hermeneutic phenomenology and is specifically interested in how people make sense of, and attach significance to, their lived experience of phenomena; exploring the meaning-making processes applied within individual relational, cultural, and temporal perceptions. The emphasis of this exploration is to give voice to many realities, and endeavours to uncover rich, previously untapped narratives, within context. IPA supports the exploration of historicity - the background and lived experience that informs and gives meaning to conscious interpretation of experience - through the hermeneutic circle (Brocki and Weardon, 2006; Smith et al., 2009; Kafle, 2011; Holland, 2014; Hood, 2016). It is here that IPA advances the narrative analysis taken in the second phase of research. It is the endeavour to uncover rich, previously untapped accounts, within context, that supports the aim and objectives of this project.

IPA was conducted on the phenomenological semi-structured interviews and involved a high level of interpretative work, which is considered a jointly constructed reflection of participant and researcher (Smith et al., 1997; Smith and Osborn, 2008; Frosh and Baraitser, 2008). Therefore, IPA implies a double hermeneutic (Walsham, 1995). Although IPA's aim is to 'explore the participant's view of the world' (Smith et al., 1997:69), it is recognised that this can never be completely achieved and will always be dependent on, and complicated by, the researcher's own world view (Smith et al., 1997; Brocki and Wearden, 2006; Smith and Osborn, 2008; Dima and Bucuta, 2016). A point that is highlighted throughout this study.

Although there is no prescriptive method for conducting IPA, Smith (1999, cited in Dima and Bucuta, 2016:74) recommend the following stages to follow for IPA:

- Reading and Re-reading
- Initial Notes
- Developing Emergent Themes and Patterns
- Searching for Connections Across Emerging Themes
- Matrix a Table of Themes
- Move to Next Case

Once I had transcribed the interviews, I read and re-read the transcript, whilst making descriptive notes in one margin. Once this initial element of the process was complete, I repeated the process and made conceptual notes in a second margin, these notes highlighted the emerging themes. I then drew clusters of themes out of the notes and double checked these against the original text. This was an iterative process establishing an intensive relationship between myself and text. I drew up a table of themes for each transcript and named each cluster. These represent the subjective superordinate themes; and a summary interpretation of each participant text (Smith and Osborn, 2008; Holland, 2014). From here I interpreted the themes across the sample group, beginning the analytical process of interpretation and reflection across the whole; selecting textual excerpts and organising and prioritising superordinate themes across the data.

3.6.5 Phase Four: The writing of The Sharing: The Reflexive Vignette.

It is argued that there is no one objective truth. It is considered that there are multiple truths that are borne out from subjective experience and that these truths are often shifting, as experience is lived (Silverman, 2006; Marshall, 2008). In presenting this section of findings there will be no form imposed upon the text, but the nature of the findings will emerge from the voices of the participants in the form of a vignette, echoing Marshall's (2008:684) aspiration to avoid a conventional academic 'suppression of voice, depersonalization, acquiescence to norms'.

Reflecting the above intention, I seek not to perform my own emotional labour by clouding my own voice or hiding that of my participants. In achieving this I bring together my reflexive account, my participant observation and the research vignette representing the voice of participants and collaborators. I integrate these voices and present this as a reflexive account of the joint production of meaning (Langer, 2016). This is a departure from the use of vignettes as a data gathering instrument, and instead follows the form and intent of Langer (2016) in his use of the research vignette as a qualitative method of writing to illustrate a psychosocial dynamic study of HIV infections among gay men. Through this Langer not only raises the voice of his participant(s) but addresses and brings clearly into view the notion that 'the

researcher is inescapably (and frighteningly) ensnared in the phenomenon under study' (Langer, 2016:738). This highlights that the researcher must acknowledge and accept the research as a product of the participants interaction and engagement with the researcher, the environment, and the many subjective contexts of that point in time.

3.7 Triangulation of Findings.

As discussed in the earlier section *Mixed Methods,* the decision to use a complementarity selection of methods with which to study the same social phenomenon (emotional labour) was taken so that potential weaknesses in one method could be offset by the strengths in the other. In other words, looking at the same issue from different perspectives provides greater depth to the picture. Indeed, the social phenomenon under study could be considered to be multi-dimensional - experienced from an inner world, communicated through an external display, and understood through social interaction and context. Therefore, multiple perspectives are required (Farmer et al., 2006; Mason, 2018). Indeed, there is also the advantage of bringing more voices into the data set - further enriching the findings. The bringing together of the findings of the different data corpus is known as methodological triangulation and combining of multiple data sources: data triangulation (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2003; Farmer et al., 2006). However, at no point is this study trying to claim the identification of a singular objective truth, but merely to establish a commonality of experience and to corroborate and give confidence to findings (Farmer et al., 2006; Silverman, 2006). Most importantly *representation* is the objective of this research; to give voice to the experiences of officers operating within the emotional labour phenomenon (Silverman, 2006).

The final aspect of the analysis draws together all of the findings of this study. To achieve this with a high level of transparency and clarity, the researcher followed the process detailed by Farmer et al. (2006: 383). The follows the steps were taken:

1. Sorting: sort findings from each method into categories that address research questions.
2. Convergence coding: compare findings to determine degree of convergence (as below).
    - Agreement
    - Partial Agreement
    - Silence
    - Dissonance
3. Convergence Assessment: review categories to provide global assessment of convergence.
4. Completeness Assessment: compare nature and scope of topic areas for each method to enhance completeness and identify key differences in scope and coverage of findings (Farmer et al., 2006).

The intention of this structured and focussed triangulation method is to generate a more complete picture of emotional labour as experienced by participants - drawing together themes and meta-themes - also enhancing the credibility of the research (Farmer et al., 2006).

3.8 Overall Ethical Considerations.

Modern ethical governance holds the relationship between researcher and participants, and the treatment of participants throughout a study, at the heart of research (Webster et al., 2014). The design of this study was intentional in its prioritisation of participant welfare, anticipating that the nature of the study would require participants to disclose potentially emotionally demanding or distressing experiences. Both audio diary and psychodrama methods bring the advantage of also being used as therapeutic means to enable coping and processing of stressful and distressing experiences (Moreno, 1987; Crozier and Cassell, 2015; British Psychodrama Association, 2017). These methods also have the potential to ease participants suffering brought on by the emotional suppression carried out as an aspect of emotional labour, which is in line with the ethical precept of reducing potential harm (Bryman and Bell, 2015). Participants in all of the methods (audio

diary, interview and role play workshops) stated, unprompted, that they felt the therapeutic benefit of being able to express their true authentic emotions – with participants from all methods suggesting that the very method used be engaged with by the police service as a means of supporting officers' emotional coping. This reflects the extant research which finds that constructing a narrative, sense making, and expressing emotions related to a traumatic event, whilst in a safe environment provides therapeutic relief, with individuals who disclose traumatic events experiencing fewer intrusive thoughts and PTSD symptomology (Pennebaker and Seagal, 1999).

Key here is not just the expression of emotional experience, but also the safe environment. Trust is essential in maintaining a good relationship between the researcher and participants (Webster et al., 2015). Every care was taken to provide complete anonymity for participants, from providing participant numbers and encouraging participants to use these in communication, to keeping transcription of data to the researcher alone, so that only the researcher had access to the raw data and to the names of participants. This is particularly important for this thesis which asks participants to discuss the very topic that is prohibited for their chosen profession. Audio diary participants were given individual identification numbers, and once they had been set up on the process, either over the phone or in person, they were left to make their recordings when and where they chose, with many participants making recordings in the car as this was one of the few private spaces they had access too. Many chose to ensure that they were out of the hearing of family – and often did not disclose their participation to colleagues, all behaviours linked with feeling and display rules. Diary entries were submitted via email direct from the voice recording application, which were in turn downloaded by the researcher and stored in a file identified only by the participant number. The same protection was afforded to the interview participants, although a smaller number and speaking directly to myself, the recordings and transcripts were afforded the same protection. I chose to transcribe the audio files myself as not only did this allow me to truly engage with the data but allowed me to further reassure that only I would have access to the raw material, further protecting participants. In the role play and

workshops there were a number of recording facilities, both visual and audible, that were used, and a number of participants who were happy to take part but did not wish to be recorded, whether this be for operational or private reasons. Lengths were taken to ensure that these individuals were out of shot of the camera, and not at any time audibly recorded. Indeed, reassurance was given to all participants in all methods regards their anonymity, and how their data and quotes would be treated.

Procedures were also put in place in line with the MMU Advisory Distress Protocol (Haigh And Witham, 2015) and with reference to the ESRC Framework for Research Ethics (ESRC, 2015). Participants were each given (via email prior to speaking in most cases) a participant information sheet that contained all of the details of the research and my contact details, but also numerous details of support services that are available to both police officers and the general public, again reflecting the nature of the research and the requirement to engage with distressing emotional events. I explained in detail to potential participants exactly what the process entailed, and how they would be asked to reflect on their experiences, as a result a few individuals choose not to take part. Consent was obtained from each participant and their ability to withdraw was explained along with the use of verbatim quotes – as this is a particular focus of this study. Consent was only obtained once participants had been afforded enough time to consider their potential involvement, this is in line with good ethical research standards (Webster et al., 2014, Bryman and Bell, 2015).

3.9 Summary.

Within this chapter I have made my philosophical argument for the approach that I have taken to this study. I have discussed how my approach seeks to advance the understanding of emotional labour within policing by elucidating the social and organisational context that support the manifestation of emotional labour for police officers. I have chosen to take a critical approach to my study, as I believe that not only do I need to identify the powers that enable emotional labour and feeling and display rules to perpetuate through an officers' life, I also need to challenge the subjugation of the organisation and individuals to these powers, challenging the status quo. I have identified the need to capture multiple perspectives and many

voices in the analysis of officers' lived experience of emotional labour in order to truly understand the commonality of experience. In doing so I have designed a four-stage sequential research process that looks firstly outside of the organisation and the individual to understand how the media perpetuate the feeling and display rules within officers' lives. Secondly, I have used audio diaries as a way of providing a safe and private space for participants to recount their emotional experiences that otherwise go unsaid. Building upon this data I have conducted interviews with serving and ex-police officers, allowing me to explore the themes identified within the audio diary data. Finally, taking a critical action research approach I have invited officers to reflect on this research and to suggest recommendations for changes to policing going forward, with the intent of supporting emotional expression and processing within the police service. This is summarised at Table Two: Research Summary.

Table Two: Research Summary.

Phase of Research	Research Aim and Objective	Rationale for Approach
Phase One SKAD of selection of Media Artefacts.	**Aim: 1.** How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales perceived by police officers? **Question:** 1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers? 2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life? **Objective: 4.** To explore the media image of police officer's emotional labour, and how this links with police officer's perceptions of feeling rules.	The media is accountable for 80% of the publics' understanding of policing. Police officers are part of this public and are subject to this constructed view of the police officer prior to joining their chosen profession. The families and friends of police officers and the general public have an expectation of individual police officer's behaviour based on their viewing of the media constructed image, and will judge them by these socially constructed standards, this will include emotional expression. Conducting an analysis of this socially constructed image of the police officer will enable this study to make a comparison between the reality of police officers' lived experience and the fictional media counterpart. Also, to explore what impact this socially constructed identity, as communicated through the media, has on officers' emotional lives.

Phase of Research	Research Aim and Objective	Rationale for Approach
Phase Two Narrative Analysis of Audio Diaries.	**Aim: 1.** To understand how emotional labour impacts on psychological health within the police service of England and Wales. **2.**To make recommendations for an operationalised response to support positive emotional expression within the police service. **Objective: 1.** How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers? **2.** To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life? 3. How do these rules influence police officer psychological health? **4.** To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms? **5.** How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health? **Question: 1.** To identify when police officers' supress and express emotion in their lives in accordance with the perceived feeling rules of the organisation. **2.** To establish how the rules are perceived to operate in relationships: Within the organisation. With family and friends. With the public. **3.** To establish (through the qualitative lens) how emotional labour is linked to mental health outcomes. **5.** To understand if depersonalisation is perceived as an organisational feeling rule, prior to burnout. **6.** To understand if depersonalisation is perceived as a coping mechanism, prior to burnout.	Audio diaries provide participants with the opportunity to express their authentic emotions in a private and safe space. This provides the researcher with the opportunity to uncover the cognitive processing that underlies the emotional modulation that occurs in response to the feeling and display rules, an area not reached through quantitative methods. The guide of the prompt sheets encourages participants to consider their inner authentic emotions, and then to reflect on where and with whom they were able to display these emotions, and what emotions were displayed (if any) in lieu of their authentic emotions. This explores what feeling and display rules officers perceive to be in operation, where they apply within their lives, and how they comply with them. Narrative analysis maintains the integrity of the individual voice whilst at the same time identifying commonality of lived experience.

Phase of Research	Research Aim and Objective	Rationale for Approach
Phase Three IPA of semi-structured interviews	**Research Aims: 1.** To understand how emotional labour impacts on psychological health within the police service of England and Wales. **2.** To make recommendations for an operationalised response to support positive emotional expression within the police service. **Questions: 1.** How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers? **2.** To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life? **3.** How do these rules influence police officer psychological health? **4.** To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms? **5.** How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health? **Objectives: 1.** To identify when police officers supress and express emotion in their lives in accordance with the perceived feeling rules of the organisation. **2.** To establish how the rules are perceived to operate in relationships: • Within the organisation. • With family and friends. • With the public. **3.** To establish how emotional labour is linked to dissociation and mental health outcomes. **5.** To understand the extent to which depersonalisation is perceived as an organisational feeling rule, prior to burnout. **6.** To understand if depersonalisation is perceived as a coping mechanism, prior to burnout.	Building on the accounts obtained within the audio diaries, semi-structured interviews allows the researcher to guide participants into focussed reflection on areas that are of particular interest to the study, yet still in need of development following on from the audio diaries. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis brings an interpretative quality to a small data set allowing conclusions to be drawn from rich and deep data.

Phase of Research	Research Aim and Objective	Rationale for Approach
Phase Four Role play and discussion underpinned by Psychodrama.	**Research Aims: 1.** To understand how emotional labour impacts on psychological health within the police service of England and Wales. **2.** To make recommendations for an operationalised response to support positive emotional expression within the police service. **Questions: 1.** How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers? **2.** To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life? **3.** How do these rules influence police officer psychological health? **4.** To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms? **5.** How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health? **Objectives: 1.** To identify when police officers supress and express emotion in their lives in accordance with the perceived feeling rules of the organisation. **2.** To establish how the rules are perceived to operate in relationships: • Within the organisation. • With family and friends. • With the public. **3.** To establish how emotional labour is linked to dissociation and mental health outcomes. **5.** To understand the extent to which depersonalisation is perceived as an organisational feeling rule, prior to burnout. **6.** To understand if depersonalisation is perceived as a coping mechanism, prior to burnout.	Taking a critical action research approach, this study is not about problem identification alone. This thesis aims to empower officers to reach their own solutions to the emotional labour phenomenon as they have framed it within the early phases of research. Using role play underpinned by psychodrama principles encourages participants to explore their immediate experiences of emotional labour within the safety of a fictional police environment. The following discussion or 'sharing' supports the emancipatory aspect of critical action research as participants are supported in identifying potential solutions to the psychological impact of emotional labour in policing.

Chapter Four: Phase One - Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Analysis of Police Officer Representation within the Media.

4.1 Introduction.

Discourses shape, create, and communicate socially constructed meaning; impacting organisations, social actors and wider social communities. Discourses have the power to legitimise ways of acting through socially agreed patterns of action, seated within constructed social infrastructure. With the knowledge that discourses shape society, social actors have the power to construct and reconstruct realities and identities (Mallat and Wapshott, 2012; Hornidge et al. 2018). In this chapter I present the findings of Phase One of this research and examine how different forms of media communicate socially acceptable emotional experience and expression of police officers (Keller, 2018[1]). This is in order to provide a necessarily brief understanding of an aspect of the historicity and context that officers situate themselves within, before proceeding onto the lived experience of individual officers in the following chapters.

4.2 The Power of the Media.

The role of the media plays a very powerful role in society's construction of knowledge through symbolic representation and discourse. In Dukheim's 1897 'collective consciousness and representations' religion is placed central in creating the 'symbols by means of which society becomes conscious of itself' (Némedi, 1995:42). This was at a time when society's access to communication was much limited and less pervasive that the media of today. Access to knowledge and information was very much dependent on social, geographical and educational status.

Today the media has taken over the role of religion in creating cultural symbols and representations. Communication is key in the creation and maintenance of social representation (Hóiger, 2011). In today's information world, where advances in media technology and reductions in production costs see a far greater percentage of the world population with access to communication via high speed networks on multiple personal devices:

> 'Virtually everyone is an audience member of some form of media. In a basic way, media provide the broadly shared, common knowledge in our society that exists independent of occupation, education, and social status.' (Surette, 2011:4).

The hegemonic representation of the police officer is an accepted social cognition which is uniform in its symbolic representation (Hóiger, 2011). There is a real concern over the medias influence on the public perception of reality (Surette, 2011). The blurring of lines between fiction and fact in infotainment such as 'Traffic Cops', and in the looping of media content where police camera footage makes its way from courtroom via local news to You Tube and comedy clips, makes it more difficult for the public to discern one from another. Therefore, fictional representation plays just an important role in the formation of the social construct of the police officer as does personal contact. Indeed, with 80% of London identifying the media as their principal point of reference for understanding of the police it would seem the fictional representation of police officer is the most likely place where the public, officers,

their families, and prospective officers come to understand the rules of emotional behaviour (Reiner, 2012).

Using the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD) this chapter analyses a small sample of media to consider the representation of police officers and their emotional behaviour. Alongside the extant literature I will seek to understand how pre-constituted feeling and display rules are socially constructed on behalf of the police. Arguments are built up by combining and interpreting the data, identifying power/knowledge through symbolic and social frames and phenomenal and narrative structures (Keller, 2006). In doing so I seek to add a contextual background to the voice of participants heard in the next three chapters of this study, and to begin to address my first research question:

1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales perceived by police officers?

Which links into my fourth research objective:

4. To explore the media image of police officer's emotional labour, and how this links with police officer's perceptions of feeling rules.

The process of analysis involved initial reading and watching of the dramas. Following this a re-reading and re-watching was carried out to increase familiarity with the data, and a thematic analysis conducted to inform the design of the following sections of data collection (Appendix K: Initial Thematic Analysis of Secondary Data). Once this was completed, I then began the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD) proper. Again, items were re-read and re-watched and a line by line interpretation carried out. Keeping in mind the role of emotions, emotional presentation, and emotional labour I wrote a brief overview of each media item and then broke the discourses of each media item into five coded areas (for the novel 'Missing, Presumed' I broke down each chapter into: Interpretative Schemes, Argumentation Clusters, Classifications, Phenomenal Structures, Narrative Structures (Keller, 2018[1])). This can be seen at Appendix L: Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse of Secondary Data

The four different media items chosen were drawn from four different forms of communication: film, TV drama series, written novel and TV documentary. Although they presented police officers in a different context to different target audiences, all have a powerful role to play in the social knowledge and social construct of the police officer (Surette, 2011). Often the representation produced similar interpretative schemes, as found by Keller (2018[2]:81) 'A newspaper commentary differs from a scientific report. But both of them might perform the same "statement" (in Foucault's sense) by using the very same interpretative scheme.' (Keller, 2018[2]:81).

Therefore, I was able to interpret consistent media representation of the police officer as identified in the four selected items of media.

4.3 Findings.

Here I present the main categories I have identified and the stories they tell.

4.3.1 Archetypes: 'Boy Scout' & 'Hardboiled Detective/Burned Out Cop'.

I have chosen to present my interpretation of police officer representation within characters as Archetypes. Here I purposely allude to Jung's conception of the archetypal templates of identity found within the collective unconsciousness – shared human understanding. This perception may perhaps be further articulated by Durkheim's collective consciousness and collective representations, where cultural symbols and metaphors become accepted social norms (Némedi, 1995; Fawkes, 2014). A position which is more latterly conceptualised by Moscovici as Social Representation (Hóijer, 2011). I see this as an important phenomenon to highlight; these archetypes and collective representations will go on to influences an individual's persona - the public constructed face of the individual, a mask that is designed to meet societal standards (Fawkes, 2014). Essentially, archetypes directly communicate feeling and display rules to the individual.

4.3.2 Boy Scout.

Represented by Davy in 'Missing, Presumed' and Chris in 'Triple 9, the Boy Scout is also referred to as the Rookie or Newbie. These characters provide a narrative that new and young in-service officers join the police organisation 'to make a difference' as Chris tells his Uncle Jeff in 'Triple 9'. They are considered as naïve and inexperienced, not yet having an understanding of police work or real life 'on the streets'. They are optimistic that they can help protect the vulnerable and this very optimism singles them out from more senior in-service officers, flagging them up as different and not yet fully morphed into 'police officer'. Boy Scouts still care about other people. This is reflective of 1980's media police image of the well natured fool (Allen et al., 1998). Davy in 'Missing, Presumed' is clearly recognised by others as naïvely positive and is given the nickname 'Silver':

> '…after Silver Lining, the boy who is always looking on the bright side. He thinks that the world might still come right if he just tries hard enough – which he does.' (Steiner, 2016:48).

This is the first feeling rule: positivity is something to be ridiculed, almost viewed as a childishness born out of a lack of maturity within the job. Even character representations of the non-police public consider the Boy Scout as not yet fully grown into their identity. This is articulated in 'Missing, Presumed' as Davy's girlfriend Chloe mocks Davy: 'You've really drunk the Kool-Aid, haven't you?' (pp. 30). Senior in service officers urge the Boy Scout to recognise the futility of their work 'you better learn fast' (Marcus to Chris, 'Triple 9') 'out master the monster and get home at the end of the night' (Uncle Jeff to Chris, 'Triple 9'). The message is sent to the Boy Scout that they need to supress their cheerful optimism if they want to be taken seriously, and often they do. A change in Davy's behaviour from cheery Boy Scout to one of a more seasoned cops disillusioned hostility is highlighted by an exchange with Manon:

> Manon: 'You're the best copper I know.'

Davy: 'I'm not though, am I? Always paddling too hard.'

Manon: 'Not lately,' she says. 'Lately you've seemed quite shifty.'

This tells the reader/viewer that the hard working, optimistic Boy Scout is not how successful officers behave. The Display Rules dictate that positive emotions are a sign of incompetence. Boy Scouts still wear their hearts on their sleeves and in doing so display their authentic emotions. They believe in the general good of humanity, they also believe that they are untouched by their work and will continue to be so. However, in reality they are seen as 'job pissed' ('Happy Valley'), and the feeling and display rules stated that they are over emotional and ineffective. This also places depersonalisation as a requirement of the feeling rules, as opposed to just an outcome – reflecting the work of Pogrebin and Poole, (1991), Bakker and Heuven (2006) and Aaron (2000).

4.3.3 Hard-Boiled Detective/Burned Out Cop.

Represented a plenty in 'Missing, Presumed', 'Triple 9', and 'Happy Valley' by Detective Sergeant Manon and Detective Inspector Harriett, Detective Sergeant Jeffery, and Police Sergeant Catherine Cawood, respectively; and more latterly represented by Detective Constable Davy in 'Missing, Presumed'. Here Davy embodies the inevitable metamorphosis from Boy Scout to Hard Boiled Detective, as he is emotional battered by his experiences within 'the job' and burns out (Maslach and Jackson, 1979;1981). The Hard-Boiled Detective (HBD) is often the protagonist within present day police procedurals e.g. 'Wallander', McNulty in 'The Wire' (Cummins and King, 2017). Typical traits are an inability to maintain personal relationships (only Boy Scouts have long term relationships); hypo-emotionality when presented with distressing or stressful stimuli (implying they are in dissociative states or burned out by over exposure to violent crime); a reliance on alcohol or other substances as coping; and generally chaotic lives (Maslach and Jackson, 1979;1981; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). They are broken by the job (Cummins and King, 2017). Typically, Jeff in 'Triple 9' is seen asleep in a chair (think 'Wallander' Cummins and King, 2017), half clothed with a bottle between his legs, surrounded by drugs paraphernalia. Manon in 'Missing, Presumed' is described as having bought

her flat complete with furnishing, sleeps on a mattress on her floor, and never has food in her refrigerator. Catherine in 'Happy Valley' is divorced and lives with her grandson and her sister, a recovering heroin addict. This representation of police officers' lives as completely destroyed by their work reflects the findings of Pogrebin and Poole (1991:400) who reflect that 'professional desensitization can be generalized beyond the confines of occupational experiences, negatively affecting an individual's entire emotional response set'.

However, HBD's are doggedly committed to the investigation, and always get their man (after all, it is invariably a man), even if it is a case of blurring the lines of criminality, as in the 'The Sweeney' (Cummins and King, 2017). However, this only reinforces the message that to be a successful police officer you must sacrifice your life, family, health and values to the cause of catching the bad guy. Emotionally, HBD's are distant, with an inability to connect with others. Manon is berated for her emotional immaturity by her best friend Briony and described by Davy as grumpy and regularly crying in the toilets. HBD's rarely show an emotion other than anger, which is often used in lieu of other emotions such as fear, distress, stress and frustration, however, the viewer/reader is often witness to scenes of the HBD hiding from view, crying and alone. This communicates a very clear display rule – to be a successful police officer, you have to suppress your emotions with everyone, even family and loved ones, and the only emotion permissible is anger (reflecting the findings of Daus and Brown, 2012). This rule is typically depicted by Catherine in 'Happy Valley' where she shouts at two Special Constables for their failure to support a rape victim and then she sits in her car alone and cries. When she gets home after being called out in the middle of the night, she doesn't open up about where she has been, even though she has been asked, Catherine responds: 'it's complicated'.

The contrast between the two Archetypes provides a clear indication to the public, families, and potential and serving officers alike that to be a successful officer and to be taken seriously you must sacrifice everything for the job, including relationships. Feeling and display rules for police officers dictate that they can't show emotion as this is an indication of inexperience and unreliability. Roles models are emotionally

repressed, socially isolated, traumatised shells of humans. Which is the only way to get the job done.

4.3.4 Dissociation: Depersonalisation & Derealisation.

Dissociation is typified by a disruption or discontinuity of normal bodily and psychological regulation – a splitting off from awareness, thoughts and feelings (Arron, 2000; American Psychiatric Society, 2013). Depersonalisation and derealisation present as a detachment from feelings (hypo-emotionality) and emotional numbing - often feeling and presenting robotic. Generally, characterised officers display hypo-emotionality, and emotional numbing typical with dissociation (Feeny et al., 2000; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This could also be interpreted as emotional suppression in an Emotional Labour context (Hochschild, 2003).

Within the media, officers are often depicted attending to distressing events with a casual attitude as if they were everyday occurrences that don't warrant an emotional reaction. This is particularly well highlighted in 'Triple 9' when Marcus, Chris and Jorge attend the scene of a murder where there are four severed heads on a car bonnet. Humour is used, perhaps as deflection and suppression, but this cannot be implied on the part of the characters:

> Marcus: 'You be careful, you don't want to get your suit dirty.'
>
> Jorge: 'I'm not worried, I have two.'

And later as Chris approaches the car:

> Marcus: 'I don't know what the fuck they were doing over here?'
>
> Jorge: 'Probably looking for their heads.'

The feeling and display ruled communicated here is that police officers cannot experience or display any form of distress or disgust, this must be suppressed if experienced and not acknowledged. However, display rules do support the display of humour, again reflected in the findings of Pogrebin and Poole (1991).

In ‘Happy, Valley’ when Catherine and PCSO Ann Gallagher find the body of a male, hanging from a tree, there is no emotional reaction – only Catherine’s acknowledgement that she arrested and bailed the male the day before. There is no shock at seeing the body hanging from the tree, they do not look away from the scene but stand staring, discussing events. Similarly, when both are told by their Inspector (whilst passing in the corridor of the police station) that the hanging of the male is now considered to be murder, there is no real emotional reaction other than vague interest and surprise, and then the conversation moves on.

Both of these scenes present an image of officers as unmoved by violent death, when being presented with disrupted bodies, and exposed to cadavers. Even when out of the public eye, officers are shown as emotionally unresponsive. Again, this is typical of the representation of policing in the media, where pain and emotional distress do not feature as a concern for officers (Surette, 2011). This representation is reflective of the psychological definition of emotional numbing, a dissociative response to trauma and repeated trauma: a response that is found to increase the likelihood of PTSD (Feeny et al., 2000). However, this may also be a representation of emotional dissonance, an outcome of emotional labour and emotional suppression depending on the characters authentic emotions (Hochschild, 2003).

Indeed, there is a stark lack of emotional language within dialogue, officers appear uncomfortable talking about emotional experiences of either themselves or others. This is articulated in ‘Happy Valley’ when Catherine is trying to communicate to her Inspector (and supervisor) that she is struggling because it is the week of the anniversary of her daughter’s suicide following her rape:

> Catherine: ‘It’s this week…’

But she is cut off mid-sentence by her Inspector who closes down the conversation:

> Inspector: ‘I know, I know…’
>
> Catherine: ‘It’s just bad enough with him…’
>
> Inspector: ‘I do know…’
>
> After a small silence Catherine turns and leaves the Inspectors office.

This is not a conversation that is going to be had. It seems that there is a fear of speaking emotions and that they are better left unsaid. Catherine does not even name her daughter, verbally acknowledge her death or articulate her own emotions, even though she seems to want to have the subject acknowledged by her Inspector. It may be that she raised the matter in the hope that she might be able to talk to her Inspector about what is clearly a very difficult time for her following a deeply traumatic event, but he seems very uncomfortable with the idea of having a conversation about the subject and withdraws. Again, this demonstrates the feeling and display rule that emotional expression is not permissible within the police service, even out of the public eye. It also suggests that supervisors depersonalise the officers under their command, and do not see them as needing the emotional support that they would be afforded to a member of public.

A similar lack of compassion, or emotional awareness, is demonstrated by another supervisor in 'Happy, Valley' the Detective Superintendent of Detective Sergeant John Wadsworth – when he initially enquires about the state of John's home life. When he replies 'slings and arrows' the Superintendent responds 'well, you know that my door is always open. Except of course when it is closed.' and walks off into his office. It almost feels that rather than the question being an expression of genuine concern and support, it is more like a question that has to be asked as a part of a role performance, and also a possible warning about bringing personal matters into work or letting them affect productivity. This depiction of the relationship between officers and supervisors reflects the findings of Adams and Buck (2010) who highlight how feeling and display rules apply to relationships with peers and supervisors, again restricting emotional expression within the organisation and limiting the emotional support opportunities between peers.

These fictional characters are also shown to display a lack of fear and lack of regard for their own safety, in the sense that they themselves are expendable and secondary to the well-being of others. Even when in extreme danger, no emotion is shown. This is depicted a number of times in 'Triple 9', none more so than in the last scene when Sergeant Detective Jeffery is shown shooting and killing Jorge and at the same time being shot in the stomach. He displays no emotion, doesn't say anything but

calmly lights a joint. He got his man and saved his nephew. A good day at the office; emotional numbing.

Outwardly displaying similar hypo-emotionality, Manon in 'Missing, Presumed' is shown fearlessly attending the home of a known violent offender, alone. She is so focussed on the investigation that she takes extreme risks, placing herself in danger with no one being aware of where she is or what she is doing. However, it is only when she realises the potential threat, whilst attempting to leave the address, is any fear acknowledged (pp. 341). Due to the nature of the media - written - we have the added advantage of knowing what the character is thinking – and she is experiencing fear, although this does not appear to be outwardly expressed. This an indication of emotional suppression, in addition to the earlier dissociation. This clearly sends a message as to the display rule that fear is not to be displayed, in any circumstances private or public.

In general, the character of Manon in 'Missing, Presumed' is written quite dissociatively, she is often described as looking on at a scene as if an outsider. With the aid of an infected eye scenes are described as if viewed from behind misty glass, a classic representation of derealisation (Fritshcher, 2019):

> 'She rubs the infected eye and re-opens slowly, the picture watery, as if she is looking through smeared glass. Those vicious shards of loneliness cannot seem to prick them in here, in this inner world, where someone has taken an eraser to the view. But its innerness is also airless.' (Steiner, 2016:168).

Even the title 'Missing, Presumed' is an abbreviation of the full phrase – missing, presumed dead - and in itself is quite dissociative in it shortened, depersonalised representation of police jargon. Police language is there to ease speed of effective communication, and emotions are surplus to this need, a possible fall out of police radio communication (National Police Improvement Agency, 2007). All this leads to the perception that the police are set apart from everyday life, that they are 'others' observing life from a dispassionate viewpoint. They are isolated in their world, a

world that only the police and criminals have access to. A viewpoint previously raised by Cummins and King (2017).

This hypo-emotional, dispassionate presentation is displayed again by officers in 'Traffic Cops'. Though they are depicted dealing with life or death decisions in high speed pursuits and at the scenes of traffic collisions the officers are typically stoic in their attitudes. They talk of the need to supress the adrenaline of a car chase in order not to cause a collision. One officer is seen talking to the driver of a vehicle after a short pursuit late at night. He displays a calm and controlled attitude. However, another officer talks about the distress of the job and dealing with fatalities – again, this articulation is expressed dispassionately:

> 'it can be quite upsetting, you now, and I am getting on in my years now and I think I have seen most things, but it can be quite distressing, dealing with death particularly.'

This may be more indicative of the emotional labour that officers perform as there is an acknowledgement of emotional experience, but this is not displayed. However, it has been acknowledged that officers filmed within these documentaries tailor their behaviour for the cameras (Surette, 2011). A point that was made by officers in the interviews within this study.

4.3.5 Aggression.

There is one emotion that does appear within police procedurals: aggression. This is reflective of Daus and Brown's (2012) that find that, although police officers express a display rule that states anger should be controlled within work, their discourse contained a high level of anger expression.

I have talked about Catherine's emotional tirade as she berates the two Special Constables in 'Happy Valley'. It seems that this angry outburst also covers a lot of other hidden emotions and could be perceived as an outpouring of many bottled up emotions. Similarly, in 'Triple 9' anger is the most displayed emotion. The environment displayed is incredibly macho and combative, typical of the prevailing machismo police culture (Reiner, 2010; Loftus, 2010; Bacon, 2014). Officers are

aggressive towards one another, as well as towards criminals. At one point Marcus pulls Chris aside to challenge him about his behaviour. His attitude borders on bullying:

> Marcus: 'Get out of school. This ain't no fuckin game Chris, the rules around here are different.'

As Chris tries to get out of the room:

> Marcus: 'unlock the door, stupid.'

In a later scene the team of officers are seen off duty at a strip bar, drinking hard liquor together and watching the women dancers perform. A masculine pursuit which objectifies women. Gabe enters the bar and seeks to speak to Marcus – Marcus is clearly agitated by his appearance and takes him outside to talk, subsequently Marcus seriously assaults Gabe and pushes him down the fire escape. Two other officers have followed Marcus and Gabe outside, (one is Chris) and they witness the assault. They ask Marcus what the issues is – Marcus tells them that Gabe is an old informant. That seems to settle the matter and his behaviour is not questioned or challenged and they return to the bar, seemingly moving on from the incident. This sends a clear message that anger is a part of police life, and not just when being on the receiving end of a disgruntled member of the public's outburst. Anger is an accepted for of communication between officers and appears to be used in lieu of other emotions, reflective of the findings of Daus and Brown (2012). These appears as a display rule, and most likely a feeling rule as well (Hochschild, 2003).

This acceptable level of aggression is typical of media representation of police work (Surette, 2011). In an earlier scene in 'Triple 9' Marcus, Chris and his team, and a number of armed uniformed and plain clothes officers effect an arrest within a housing project. Clearly there is an expectation of trouble and a large scale shoot out occurs – which results in Chris killing a gangster and saving Marcus' life. The emotional response is minimal and there is a level of unreality to how events proceed afterwards. Though both Chris and Marcus are shown as being interviewed separately, there is no sound, creating an underwater effect which is quite evocative of a dissociative experience. No emotions are expressed, and they are quickly seen

in a bar having a drink. In the media depiction of crime and criminal justice, violence is played up, whereas the pain and suffering is played down (Surette, 2011). 'Triple 9' seems a good example of this phenomenon, where fear, regret, pain or suffering are not articulated, not even on the behalf of the victims.

4.3.6 Never Off Duty.

Typically, characters are depicted as being workaholics and having little life outside of police work (Schaufeli et al, 2008). Only Davy in 'Missing, Presumed' is shown having a hobby – mountain biking - though this is during his Boy Scout phase. Even his other interests are police related where he volunteers at the local children's home, working with social services and supporting looked after children.

Manon in 'Missing, Presumed' has very clearly lost all interest in activities other than her work:

> 'I had to fill in the hobbies section – for the dating site – and I drew a complete blank. I literally don't have anything… I hate it. I mean, what's the point of doing something just for the sake of it, when it isn't your job? I even went to a pottery class so I'd have something to type in. But I just couldn't get past the pointlessness of it.' (Steiner, 2016:100).

Again, this reflects the symptomology of emotional numbing: loss of interest in activities, detachment from other, and restricted range of affect (Feeny et al., 2000).

The only other social activities that are depicted involve drinking with other police colleagues where the police family is established (Cummins and King, 2017). Early on in 'Triple 9' Chris and Jeffrey are seen at the family home of Chris, before the two of them go out for a drink at bar alone. Another scene shows Marcus and Chris' team in a strip bar drinking together, and later Marcus and Chris are seen drinking in a bar, debriefing Chris killing a gangster. In 'Missing, Presumed' office Christmas drinks are in the local pub, with work mobile's turned on in case of an update on the case, at another point Bryony and Davy take Manon to the pub to join the others to help her get over her relationship break-up. It would seem that alcohol is used as a way of

coping, of emotional numbing, rather than dealing with the emotional experiences of life and work. A point expressed by Manon:

> 'She thinks that life is best passed in a blur: imprecise and anaesthetised from the sharper feelings.' (Steiner, 2016:331).

However, a step change in the narrative sees Davy opening up to the Superintendent about his feelings of guilt and shame after the funeral of the witness, although this is over a pint in the bar.

Officers are clearly expected to be available at all hours of the day, whether on duty or not and there is an expectation that they will monitor their phones, regardless of their own personal commitments. This issue is dealt with directly in 'Missing, Presumed' where Manon is found to have switched her phone off on a rest day. This is discovered due to the investigation into the suicide of a key witness – Helena Reed. Though Manon has done everything required, and is not found professionally wanting, some of the blame for Helena's death due to suicide are placed on Manon as Helena attempted to phoned Manon when her phone was switched off. Despite there being no duty requirement to have her phone on or to answer it on a rest day, it is implied that this is what an officer should do during a homicide investigation. It is almost a public shaming as she is dressed down in front of the office - and this is also a signal to other officers as to how they too should behave. As a result, Manon experiences an extreme sense of shame and responsibility for the death, so much so that it ends her new relationship. Manon and those around her learn that there is no space for anything other than work in an officer's life.

This sense of always being available is reinforced in 'Happy Valley' where Catherine is called out in the middle of the night by a member of the community to deal with the rape of a prostitute. This again sends the message that officer's personal lives, and well-being, are secondary to that of the needs of the community or an investigation. And hours at work are also an expectation. When Catherine has been called out in the middle of the night to sort out an investigation, she returns home to see her Grandson and the morning of his birthday (in uniform) before returning to work for a day shift. Not once is it considered that it might be better for her to catch

up on her sleep, despite sleep being one of the main requirements for good health. This is again emphasised in 'Missing, Presumed' when the investigative team are regularly working around the clock: 'These shifts are ageing us, Manon thinks.' (Steiner, 2016:98). This supports the feeling rules of emotional suppression – officers own needs are not valid and therefore not to be expressed.

As if being constantly on duty and on call at all times isn't enough, officers are depicted as always relating to the world through the eyes of their work. Manon compares her dates to crime scenes – picking up on finger prints on glasses: 'petroleum purple eggs, the kind of oval spiral they dream of finding at a crime scene' (Steiner, 2016:1) or leaving a date 'as if fleeing the scent of decomposing flesh' (Steiner, 2016:2). Manon has even requisitioned a police radio as listening to it at night is the only way that she can fall asleep. Police work permeates every part of an officer's waking, and sleeping, life.

This sends clear signals to the general public that officer's lives are secondary to the needs of the organisation, and therefore so are their emotions. Not at any point are an officer's emotional or well-being needs addressed. They are not to be discussed, valued or expressed, this is the overarching feeling rule. Officers are treated like robots and begin to behave just the same, never expressing emotions and always treating life as if it were another investigation to be analysed. Dissociatevly.

4.3.7 Relationships.

Police officers are characterised by not being able to form or maintain personal relationships. Typical of the archetype HBD, most are divorced or habitually single. Any children (typically only male police officers have children) are estranged. Manon in 'Missing, Presumed' is actively internet dating, but struggling with the idea of being in a relationship, she even admits that she doesn't really like other human beings, but struggles with loneliness. She is stuck in a childlike state, wishing to be loved and to be close, but not to be beholden to others. She recognises this in herself when visiting her friend Bryony and her family: 'She knows that she comes here, like the third child, to inhale some of it' (Steiner, 2016:168). Manon also struggles with familial relations, her relationship with her only sibling has broken down completely

due to her refusal to accept her stepmother, and for the same reason her relationship with her father is strained. This inability to navigate emotional relationships results in a closing down of emotional contact, an emotional suppression: the easier route.

Similarly, as Davy becomes more traumatised by his work he withdraws from his relationships. When only a few weeks ago he was considering proposing to his girlfriend, the trauma of a witness suicide sees him withdraw and eventually break off the relationship. He loses his normal tolerance for others and starts to snap at his colleagues. Davy's metamorphosis into an HBD really highlights how police work affects relationships and changes officers, and Davy is cognisant of this: 'Perhaps he misses the chap he was before Helena Reed died' (Stenier, 2016:311). This representation of police officers' personal relationships is reflected in the research of Maslach and Jackson (1979) when studying New York police officers and their families, where wives articulated how their husbands brought their police officer behaviour home and were unable to speak about emotions with their children, leading to a break down in relationships within the family home.

There is a sense that this is something that happens to officers, that, despite best efforts of the Boy Scout, they will eventually become the HBD, whether they chose it or not. Harriet explains her single situation:

> 'when you don't have kids, everyone assumes you're some fucking ball-breaking career freak, but it's not like that. It's more, y'know, a cock-up. It's something that happened to me.' (Steiner, 2016:44).

This situation is represented as an outcome of being committed to the organisation and a successful career. In 'Missing, Presumed' the only female officer with a family, Bryony, is depicted as having had her career stalled, 'mostly desk bound since the children' (Steiner, 2016). Indicating that front line policing cannot accommodate the needs of a mother, and that caring, and nurturing are not qualities valued by the organisation, and that any talent you may have for policing can be replaced by the next willing, childless officer. This re-emphasises the machismo culture typical of the police and the prevalence of emotional labour within the organisation (Steinberg and Figart, 2010; Steiner, 2010).

In ‘Triple 9’ the only officer depicted as having a successful relationship is Chris, the Boy Scout. Indeed, all of the main characters are men and the only two women depicted are positioned behind a desk and not seen outside of the station. Interestingly, this is reflected in ‘Traffic Cops’, where there are no female officers filmed. This reinforces the perception that the police service embodies a masculine culture of emotional suppression, and lack of emotional empathy which does not value traditional feminine qualities of caring and nurturing (Steinberg and Figart, 1999).

4.4 Conclusion.

Cummins and King (2017) assert that modern day police representation in the media presents an image of an officer who is suffering with PTSD due to the repeated exposure to workplace trauma. I would add that, as repeated trauma exposure is a sign of experience within the (fictional) police service, PTSD is almost presented as a badge of honour for the HBD who gives everything in the name of the investigation. However, the dissociation that compounds the likelihood of PTSD is also presented as a requirement of the good officer. The feeling rules seem clear: emotions, whether cheery enthusiasm, or distress and fear, are not to be displayed; warmth and compassion within personal relationships are not apparent, with most fictional characters failing to maintain or establish long term romantic partnerships. Even relationships with immediate family are often strained. Fictional characters display hypo-emotionality when presented with what would normally be stressful or distressing situations, particularly in those characters that are presented as our ‘heroes’ of the story. Emotional suppression is the order of the day, and without an emotional language present, the emotional labour of our fictional heroes when repeatedly exposed to trauma, aggression and violent death, is significant. Indeed, anger appears to be the one permissible emotion in a significantly masculine environment where to succeed you need to sacrifice your all for ‘the job’. It is clear that the feelings of the officer are secondary to the needs of the investigation, and surplus to the requirement of being successful within the role.

Chapter Five: Phase Two – Narrative Analysis of the Audio Diaries.

5.1 Introduction.

Understanding feeling rules, how they are communicated and how they contribute to officer mental health is the aim of this research. Emotional Labour is already recognised for its negative impact on the employee, who can experience the alienating loss of ownership and control of their emotions through engagement with organisational feeling and display rules, which often leads to emotional dissonance and burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Hochschild, 1983). Complying with an organisation's feeling and display rules is often a form of survival (whether that be economic or social) rather than out of choice (Grandey et al., 2015). The sense of alienation experienced when suppressing authentic emotions does not end when employees leave the working environment. Professional identity (and therefore professional behaviour expectations) is often woven into every aspect of an individual's life (Yuill, 2005). This is certainly true for police officers, whose behaviour and emotional display is governed, on and off duty, by the Police Code of Ethics (College of Policing, 2014) as well as through organisational, societal and familial expectations. This is a significant weight of power controlling an individual, and officers are aware of the emotional demands made of them: 'they pay me to be mean' (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989:2). More so, officers avoid admitting that aspects of their work are upsetting; feeling that any expression of emotion could be interpreted as a weakness, or not coping. Officers consistently feel unable to speak out, for fear of being viewed as a failure or unreliable: 'the perpetuating stance being that people knew what they were getting into when they joined the police and being expected to show a stiff upper lip' (MacEachern et al., 2018:7 Parkes et al., 2018).

Emotional Labour has been identified as causing workers to become 'robotic, detached, and un-empathetic' (Wharton, 1999:162), leading to a number of health-related outcomes such as 'loss of memory, depersonalization, job stress, hypertension, heart disease, emotional exhaustion, and burnout' (Jeung, et al.,

2018:188). This research also seeks to examine the role of emotional labour in negative psychological outcomes for police officers, examining the link between feeling and display rules and dissociative behaviour at the time of, prior to and post traumatic incidents as officers attempt to detach themselves from the emotions experienced when faced with traumatic events in order to comply with feeling and display rules (Aaron, 2000; Lanius et al. 2010).

Therefore, this chapter addresses the first four research questions:

1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales perceived by police officers?
2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?
3. How do these rules influence police officer psychological health?
4. To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms?

And six objectives:

1. To identify when police officers supress and express emotion in their lives in accordance with the perceived feeling rules of the organisation.
2. To establish how the rules are perceived to operate in relationships:
    - Within the organisation.
    - With family and friends.
    - With the public.
3. To establish how emotional labour is linked to dissociation and mental health outcomes.
5. To understand the extent to which depersonalisation is perceived as an organisational feeling rule, prior to burnout.
6. To understand if depersonalisation is perceived as a coping mechanism, prior to burnout.

This chapter analyses the audio diaries of twenty-seven serving police officers with an overall data collection period of ten months, beginning January 2018 concluding October 2018. This generated 137 diary entries, totalling 25 hours, 16 minutes and 38 seconds, with the shortest diary being seven minutes and sixteen seconds long and the longest diary entry totalling two hundred and fifteen minutes and thirty-three seconds. The number of diary entries completed by individual participants ranged from one to eighteen.

AT AA8: THE ANXIETY OF DATA COLLECTION (APPENDIX A: AUTHOR'S REFLEXIVE DIARY) I REFLECT ON HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS TO RECRUIT PARTICIPANTS TO THIS RESEARCH

Initially idiographic narrative analysis was undertaken examining plot line, characters and transformation, brought together through emplotment - a synthesis between events, discordance and concordance and different senses of time. Narratives were further examined through Burke's five elements of dramatisation: act, scene, agent, agency, and purpose (Burke, cited in Riessman, 1993:19). Expressions of Emotional Labour were drawn out through examining individual articulation of: feeling and display rules and how they are communicated, surface acting and deep acting, and emotional suppression and emotional dissonance (Hochschild, 1983). Finally, indications of psychological strain in terms of burnout and dissociation were highlighted (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Lanius et al. 2010; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This analysis can be found at Appendix J: Audio Diary Initial Idiographic Narrative Analysis.

Once this was completed the findings were used as the initial codes for the subsequent thematic analysis, with the addition of Lazarus' (1999) prototypical

examples of 15 emotions, and Hochschild's (2003) 19 nameable emotions. These were then drawn into themes falling under three categories:

- **General Themes:** addressing what events officers chose to speak about, whom they involved, what emotions they articulated, and where power lay within the scenarios.
- **Themes of Emotional Labour:** Feeling and Display Rules, Unit Level Rules, How Feeling and Display Rules are communicated and by whom, How Feeling and Display Rules are enforced, Uncomfortable Display of Authentic Emotions, Emotional Suppression, Surface Acting, Deep Acting, Emotional Dissonance and Emotional Complexity.
- **Themes examining Psychological Outcomes:** Burnout and Dissociation.

AT AA9: TRANSCRIPTION OF AUDIO DIARY (APPENDIX A: AUTHOR'S REFLEXIVE DIARY) I HAVE RECORDED HOW I STRUGGLED WITH SOME ELEMENTS OF TRANSCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA.

5.2 Category One: General Themes.

The category of General Themes gives an overview of the events that officers chose to speak about, how officers relate to these events through time and power, (reflecting Foucualt's (1986) position on the role of society and history in power and subjugation), and the people and emotions that are identified within the events. Officers speak about a myriad of events in their diaries, reflecting the nature of policing and how officers are expected to deal with many different situations on a daily basis. Participant 6 highlights this in their second diary entry (Appendix Q: Participant 6 Audio Diary Entry Two) where they list the incidents that a probationer had dealt with in their first six months of work, all of which have the potential to be

traumatic experiences for the officer. This also highlights the complexity of situations and emotions that are addressed in the second category: Themes of Emotional Labour.

The events that officers chose to speak about fell into 9 main themes (see Appendix N: Audio Diary General Themes), which broadly fell into two main camps, firstly incidents that involved violence against the person and secondly, how officers are treated by colleagues and the wider organisation, which reflects the trauma that they are exposed to and the environment that they exist in when exposed to trauma.

In describing events officers often relate entries to previous incidents that they have been involved in, and it is clear that the emotions experienced during one event will influence the levels of anxiety around future events. This can be seen in Participant 5's fifth entry where on seeing a significant amount of blood at a murder scene his mind returns to a recent terrorist incident he attended as a first responder. Similarly, Participant 8 has her anxiety reinforced through repeated trauma exposure where two offenders in separate investigations take their own lives. Now she worries about her impact on offenders:

> 'I worry about the offenders as well, I don't want them to go back and kill themselves.'

The repeated trauma exposure expressed by all participants is linked to the dissociative subset of complex PTSD as defined by Lanius et al. 2010).

The key players discussed in diary entries are often: frustrating colleagues whom are viewed as lazy or ineffective and place extra burden on the participants; insensitive and inconsiderate senior officers who are perceived as inappropriately wielding power over officers and making participants feel vulnerable and undervalued, and immediate supervisors who provide little or no support and often create an environment which prevents officers from speaking out about their emotions:

> 'She is my sergeant and that is her response to me bringing it up to her, then what was the point? I am never going to open up to

somebody or feel that I can tell them how I feel when that is there attitude, so I did suppress my emotions…'

This too demonstrates how day to day interactions reinforce the rules around emotional expression. Indeed, the power that is identified within incidents is perceived to sit outside of the officer's sphere of control; there is an inevitability and acceptance of the rules that govern officers' behaviour and emotional expression. A perspective that would not have been captured using the more traditional positivist methods. Even when injured and dealing with a murder victim, Participant 1 perceives that he has no choice in his emotional response: 'You just have to get on with it.' Power is seen to sit with senior officers, whether that be senior leaders who have the ultimate say over an officer's future within the service, of with more senior officers whose own behaviour goes unchallenged by more junior officers who are complicit in their own fate. Power is also seen to sit with members of the public, specifically the offender: when Participant 5 describes how he has been seriously assaulted by an offender which has led to the officer using his taser, P5 describes how he feels vulnerable and as if he is the one under investigation:

'I was very scared, I was very scared and I was scared for a long time after that I was going to get in trouble as well, for the, for either having not gone through the correct procedure or for the discharge, yeah very concerned, there was much more concern for the rights that I have potentially breached of these horrible violent people than there were for the rights of me for a single crewed ten stone five foot seven police officer patrolling on his own at night'.

This powerlessness of officers adds to the sense that they are worth less than other members of the public and senior leaders within the organisation. Officers subjugate themselves to this power which is normalised in day to day life, silencing officers who do not feel empowered to speak about their experiences. The articulation of the subtleties of power reflects the views of Marx (cited in Lukes, 1974) and Foucault (1986) on social power and subjugation, as feeling rules are expressed through everyday behaviour, processes and conversations, reinforcing the position of the

officer within the power chain and the expectations of their behaviour (Mumby and Putnam, 1992; Martin, 1999; Tracy, 2000).

Anxiety, sadness and frustration are the top three emotions articulated in the diary entries (as detailed at Appendix N: Audio Diary General Themes - Experienced and Expressed Emotions), with anxiety expressed in over a third of all diary entries. In considering the work of Van Geldreren et al. (2011a) the number of negative emotions that are articulated would indicate that officers are more likely to suffer emotional exhaustion in the conduct of their duties if these emotions are required to be suppressed in line with feeling and display rules, which is considered in detail within the second category below. Concerningly, the research into the dissociative subset of PTSD by Ross et al. (2018) finds that anxiety specifically is an important risk factor for dissociative PTSD.

These emotions also reflect the negative encounters that officers experience and their potential to be traumatising.

5.3 Category Two: Themes of Emotional Labour.

This category looks at the experience of emotional labour by participants, how this impacts their behaviour through feelings and display rules, how the rules are communicated and enforced, and how officers comply with the feeling rules through emotional suppression and expression (see Appendix O: Audio Diary Themes of Emotional Labour).

5.3.1 Feeling and Display Rule: Emotions are a sign of weakness.

Building upon the work of Pogrebin and Poole (1991), Daus and Brown (2012) and Bakker and Heuven (2006), who raise the idea that officers are depersonalising or desensitising as a way of coping or in compliance with feeling or display rules, this analysis explores *what* the rules are, in an effort to explore in greater detail what is expected of officers, and whether dissociative behaviour (American Psychiatric Association, 2012) or depersonalisation (Maslach and Jackson, 1981) is a requirement of the feelings rules, as well as an outcome.

The strongest theme that came across from participants is that general emotional display is seen as a weakness:

> 'I don't think that you can be openly emotional in an office, you might be seen as a bit of a wimp'

This feeling rule appears to apply to most areas within an officer's life, whether it be with colleagues, supervisors, back at the station, or with family. Not surprisingly, this is something that officers are very aware of, particularly when they are dealing with potentially violent offenders and they are experiencing fear. However, participants also displayed an awareness of how much acting officers undertake to ensure that they do not display any emotion:

> 'I was primed for that, was knocking on that potential offender's door, it's a thing you do as cops, you get your game face going on, the way that you stand, present yourself, you know you get your head in the game.'

This also demonstrates the emotional suppression that occurs at the time of traumatic events. Participants go on to discuss how officers continue to suppress these emotions post event, with colleagues:

> '…When that does happen, you know the adrenaline, you know, you can feel it, I get a bit of a leg shake when I feel it, you are not very comfortable expressing that to your colleagues, I don't think. I think that it is something that, especially as you know, someone who has more experience than your colleagues, as a bloke, to actually hold your hand up and say, "I didn't want to do that I was a bit scared" is something that isn't frequently done, isn't frequently spoken about, especially not publicly.'

> 'I think that compartmentalising and squashing down of your immediate reaction is a kind of unwritten rule as a police officer, it is certainly one practice that I have adopted to deal with traumatic incident, because you have got to perform, I think that everyone finds

> their own way, some people have to squash it down, some people don't acknowledge it, or maybe not aware of how they are feeling until later, I am always aware of "oh god this is going to be awful" and like a big breath of "ohh don't panic" and just switch it off, and then it gets released later, but not verbalised particularly well, you know I would just cry later.'

This would indicate that the feeling rule that states that emotional display by officers is a sign of weakness causes officers to suppress their emotions at the time of traumatic events (peritraumatic) and post-trauma (persistent) with peers and colleagues. This would reflect the relationship between peritraumatic and persistent dissociative behaviour and traumatic events that increase the likelihood of PTSD symptomology (Briere et al. 2005; Murray et al., 2002).

The rules go as far to restrict officers' compassion for each other, through fear that emotional and physical support would make their colleagues look weak. Participant 1 explains how he has responded to a colleague's emergency call and on arrival has found the officer injured and in need of medical attention. P1 tries to offer support to his colleague, but the officer is resistant, stating that they are fine. This is despite P1's suspicions that they have been kicked unconscious. He becomes aware of the position that he is putting his colleague in, in offering his support:

> 'I don't want to sort of emasculate you'.

Such withdrawal of support (albeit to protect the officer) will only go to enforce rules that suggest that officers are 'super human' or 'sub human', and not just in an emotional sense, but also physically. This supports the idea that the feeling and display rules ask officers to depersonalise their colleagues and not see them as complete human beings (Maslach and Jackson, 1981).

It would seem that police officers are considered to be emotionally different to other members of the public, and that they should not be affected in the same way by traumatic incidents:

> ‘I was still very much of the thought that you are a cop and you deal with this kind of thing day in and day out, and you should just crack on for want of a better phrase.’

This encourages officers to dissociatively suppress or detach themselves from their own emotions (American Psychiatric Association, 2012).

Maintaining the appearance of being unaffected by distressing and stressful events bleeds into relationships with families and partners, where officers still fear that any expression of emotion will make them appear weak and unable to carry out their work:

> ‘you don’t want to come home and make, and worry her, and make her feel like you are unable to do your job.’

In general, participants felt that they were expected to be without emotional expression in all aspects of their life, and that this had led them to be viewed as sub human, or robotic:

> ‘you are expected to be the robot that comes in and deals with horrific incidents and supports the family and supports whoever is involved, picks up the pieces and goes away again. I think that society as a general, you know, police officers nipping in to go and get a brew somewhere, somebody nipping in to get something to eat you get the “uh, this is not what we pay you to do, look at you coming here and buying your food” and you are like “hang on a minute I am on a twelve hour sift and I have not eaten yet, I can’t run on empty.” We are not robots…’

This recognition that officers are expected to behave in a robotic manner, without emotional or physical needs, reflects the dissociative behaviour articulated in the DSM V that contributes to PTSD: emotional and physical numbing, a sense of lack of agency and feeling robotic; presenting as a robotic demeanour, hypo-emotionality with others, and hyporeactivity to emotional stimuli (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This social expectation of behaving ‘robotic’ reflects my earlier

research (Lennie et al., 2019) which also finds that officers believe that they are expected to behave in a robotic manner, however, this present study builds this point by making the link to dissociative behaviour in officers.

Some participants were more accepting of this identity and were comfortable with the idea that police officers were not expected to have, or to display, any emotional response or need. Again, they seem to have subjugated themselves to the power of the rules:

> (My wife) 'she expects me to be more emotional, but that is not just at work, she expects me to be more emotional full stop. She calls me an android, she says that I am a robot but, and because she doesn't work with police officers, she is not a police officer, I think she thinks that I am unusual but she would only have to come to my place of work and realise that, we are actually, we are the norm, outwardly at least…I would see it as a sign of weakness in myself if I were having these emotions.'

There are some exceptions to this rule. Displaying aggression towards other officers is one exception, despite this being specifically identified as unacceptable behaviour in the Code of Ethics (College of Policing, 2014). This exception is expressed a number of times by participants, and as explained by Participant 8, aggression between colleagues is potentially a regular occurrence in the service:

> 'They were very, very rude about it, one of them swore at me, said "this is piss poor…" they were just very, very rude, obnoxious, so one of them tried to get me to arrest her, one of them told, sort of had a go at us because we didn't take a statement off this girl… and then one of them, just to jump on the band wagon of his colleagues, sort of told me that it was piss poor, to which I replied and told them to "fuck off" – which was all really unprofessional and uncomfortable but I felt like he left me with no choice… we had a bit of a bust up, like a face to face stand-off with three of our colleagues… it cause quite a lot of conflict for a long time where, I couldn't speak to them… it was

> absolutely disgusting and out of order but this sort of thing goes on all of the time.'

This is particularly concerning when viewed in the light of research conducted by Adams and Buck (2010) who found that internal stressors such as co-worker civility was just as detrimental to officer mental health as external stressors such as conflict with members of the public. Also, such permissible negative behaviour between colleagues breaks down relationships and isolates officers, further reducing the potential for officers to open up about their emotional experiences with one another, effectively removing a main source of social support. Officers are also effectively depersonalising their colleagues, again, where they are no longer considering them as human beings that deserve respect and compassion. This is increasingly detrimental to officer's health, particularly taken in light of the research which shows that early psychological and social support moderates the complexity and debilitating nature of PTSD (Stephens and Long, 1999 & 2000; Heffrena and Hausdorf, 2016).

Even senior officers engage in aggressive and degrading language and behaviour which also reinforces the message that officers are not expected to have the same emotional responses as other members of society:

> '…you have to sit there and just basically smile and nod, and it really feels like any sort of transgression from us from the, you are going to sit here and you are going to listen to me and from his own words "I don't fucking care what you think."'

This point is reinforced by Participant 2, who accepts the depersonalised relationships within the organisation and subjugates himself to the power of the feeling rules and dissociates himself from his role:

> 'I think in this day and age it is shown as a form of weakness and this stigma of mental health is still prevalent and you can't really show anything… you are seen as weak, emotional, tearful, then there is still this stigma around that, that you can't display how you feel, you can't walk in to a room of colleagues and say "oh god that really affected me" and burst into tears…emotions and mental health and wellbeing

> within my force is just disgusting, nobody cares, I am just a number, I have acknowledged that, it is only a job and it pays the bills and I have sort of embraced that in a way and let things go a little bit.'

Another exception to the rules around emotional display is the permissibility of displaying a deriding or derogatory attitude towards victims, offenders or informants. This seems accepted practice as a way of letting off steam, as explained by Participant 2:

> 'one of the few topics I think within the police, certainly within your circle of colleagues and immediate supervision, you know, it is perfectly acceptable to vent about troublesome victims and informants, which is kind of cathartic.'

And reinforced by Participant 7:

> 'On this occasion it is very easy to be truthful because perhaps that accepted emotion of anger, of irritation of annoyance it is "us and them" it is like they are all shit, and how irritating and yes, we can all like get behind…'

This demonstrates how the feeling and display rules not only make derogatory attitudes towards members of the public acceptable, but they are also encouraged as a way of releasing the pressure of work (and possibly pent up emotions) and bonding within the team. This 'othering' of members of the public is also depersonalising them and can be seen as a requirement of the feeling and display rules as a way of coping with pressure, and in order to bond with teams and the wider police family (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Ashforth and Humphrey, 1993). This also reinforces the belief that officers are different to other members of society, and perhaps have different emotional needs and responses. This echoes Turner and Oakes (1994) work on social identity, as this data shows how officers can become depersonalised from their own self-perception through group belonging and social identity.

5.3.2 Feeling and Display Rules: Emotions as a sign of incompetence.

Not only is emotional display considered a sign of weakness, it is also taken as a sign of incompetence and inappropriateness for the role, whether that be for specialist or front line officers. It is through this that the feeling rules create a sense of guilt and shame within officers, both powerful and distressing emotions.

Participant 20 directly addresses this point when recalling an earlier point in his career where he attended the natural death of an elderly male. On witnessing the widow say goodbye to her late husband, Participant 20 was unable to suppress his emotions any longer:

> 'I felt as though I should be showing a sort of quite detached, emotionless state of professionalism. I felt so sad, but I didn't feel as though I could show that to her, so I showed her nothing…. I couldn't hide my emotions anymore…I was now crying, and I will always remember that she looked at me and said to me, "you look like you need a hug". I just felt that by not keeping my emotions in check there that I had somehow failed her.'

This sense of failure has obviously stayed with Participant 20 throughout his career and he seems certain of what is expected of him by the public, in terms of emotional display, and that emotional suppression is an act of 'professionalism' and competence.

This is also true where colleagues are concerned, as Participant 9 describes after her colleagues respond to her assistance call during a fight:

> 'When our colleagues arrived I didn't show that I was scared I tried to sort of hide the fact that I was shaking, I didn't want people to know that I was scared, I think that I feel like this more because I am female, and I am small, I have to prove myself to other colleagues, I would never want people to see that I am scared because I wouldn't want them to think that I am not up to the job.'

This is clearly forcing officers to suppress and modulate their emotions to those appropriate for the feeling and display rules, forcing them into a dissociative response. This does appear counterintuitive to some officers, who recognise the need for emotional processing. Firearms officers are made very aware of the need to be mentally healthy by the organisation as part of their training, but rather than this lead to a greater openness and support within the firearms units, there is a higher expectation of emotional regulation:

> 'There is always the fear that if you say anything like that then they will pull your ticket and you won't be carrying and you'll be off the street and that could put your future in jeopardy. So, in a way it would be more beneficial if you could speak, and you should speak, but back to front nature of it is that you feel that you can't speak.'

This controlling fear plays out in a number of units including public protection units, and Participant 24 expresses how she feels this is the same for her on her offender management unit which prevents her seeking help or support:

> 'It is completely alien if you even spoke to a supervisor for advice or support or help…if you are struggling, it is like "they have lost the plot, get rid of them, oh they can't be on this department" and you know, damaged goods type of thing and you feel like you are going to have a black mark against your name and that people won't know how to deal with you.'

Participant 26 takes it that step further and suppresses his distress and increasing ill-health from recovering numerous disrupted bodies on the Police Support Unit. He is not just in fear that he will lose his place on the unit, but also his career as an officer:

> 'I couldn't feel like I could discuss it with anyone at work because I was worried if I was going to lose my job, and various other issues that people would think that you are mental and labelled and stigma attached to it still to this day. So, I just carried on and I carried on recovering more and more bodies and I remember thinking one day on the way back in a van, one of these days this is going to catch up

> with me I am sure, I just can't sustain doing all of these things and these duties.'

Unfortunately, this did catch up with him and years down the line he was diagnosed with depression, anxiety and PTSD, something that may have been avoided if he felt able to express his emotions or seek help at an earlier stage.

Overall, displaying emotions sends a signal to colleagues and supervisor that officers are not fit for the job:

> 'the culture of the police where you know the sign of fear is a sign of weakness, and then you become not trusted by your peers, not trusted by your supervision, not considered reliable…stiff upper lip and all that and take the banter and crack on.'

Indeed, officers themselves have come to believe that their emotions will impede their ability to carry out their role:

> 'it is my job to look after other people and I obviously had to put that first and I had to totally switch off my emotions on that day, as I wouldn't be able to deal with anything at all, if I had let those emotions that I was feeling inside come out, I felt like I wanted to cry, I was physically shaking with shock but I had to try and hide that to come across as professional and supportive to everyone else.

Supervisors also express a belief that the way to provide emotional support for junior officers is to put their own emotions to one side, rather than engage with them on an emotional level. Indeed, this is an example of how expressing emotions is seen as a weakness for a supervisor, even when they are providing emotional support:

> 'knowing that the one thing that I was going to have to do was essentially keep a lid on my emotions whilst I was there. I had two very inexperienced police officers already at the scene, who I knew were going to be reliant on me. I was there as a sort of emotional safety net for the officers involved.'

5.3.3 Feeling and Display Rules: Members of the public should not be exposed to police officer's emotions.

The one rule that participants did not question was the belief that members of the public did not want, or more so, need to see police officers' emotion. This was considered not only unprofessional, but also unhelpful and disrespectful. Officers always put others' emotions before their own and viewed their own emotional response to an incident as a potential intrusion in others' lives. Participant 9 described her own levels of distress after a terrorist attack, and then being placed on scene guard outside the terrorist's home, where they are approached by a grieving father. They are acutely aware of the members of the public and press that are present, which further inhibits their reaction:

> 'I felt so emotionally affected by his reaction and the way how, terribly upset he was, I was just constantly conscious of an image like I had to portray, I did, I tried my best to offer comfort and support without getting too visibly emotional because of the press and because, I felt guilty of feeling upset when he was going through so much. I think I had to appear strong and supportive as a police officer, I don't think that it would have been professional of me to show what I was really feeling, I think that there are rules about we should come across as police officers in public, and I think that you have to appear to be strong and non-emotional, especially at times when people are depending on you'

Not only are officers very considerate of the need for distressed individuals to be able to rely on the predictable identity of the stoic officer, but they also consider it a mark of respect, as Participant 9 articulates on dealing with the parents of an infant who has suddenly died:

> 'Any emotional response from me, it just would have been totally inappropriate.'

Participant 5 is cognisant of this behaviour and how officers' emotional suppression is a form of acting, however, they too acknowledge that this can have a detrimental effect on officers, as emotions are suppressed to the point that it becomes habitual:

> 'You need to maintain that professionalism and put on that mask, which is a bit difficult to take off sometimes.'

This too would reflect the dissociative response that contributes to PTSD symptomology. Here Participant 5 could be describing generalised dissociation, where an individual dissociates throughout their life, making them more likely to be in a dissociative state prior to, and on encountering a traumatic situation (Briere et al., 2005; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This is particularly damaging for individuals exposed to repeated trauma, such as police officers, and also restricts an individual's ability to engage and respond to psychological support (Briere et al., 2005).

The feeling and display rule that tells officers that members of the public should not be exposed to their emotions or emotional display applies within the family sphere, with participants expressing a desire to protect their families from either the distressing and traumatic incidents they deal with, or the worry that their loved ones may not be coping with the exposure to such events:

> 'I would definitely never tell my family because it is just too horrific for them to cope with, and they don't need to know the details like that, and I wouldn't want to upset them.'

However, whether due to the stoic behaviour of their loved ones, or through exposure to the social defined identity of the police officer, loved ones do look to the officers within their families to be the ones to take the lead in distressing family events:

> 'I think because of what I do they now look at me as the strong one, and the one that sort of doesn't get affected by things, and I am sure that is because of the job that I do, they might have seen a change in me, I don't know, over the years possibly, and I think that they sort of

> look to me to be the strong person in the family when things need doing, or things happen at home, because they think that I am used to it, without sort of realising that it probably still does affect me.'

This again almost forces officers into suppressing their emotions in order to protect their families, as officers go on to live out the role that has been created for them.

Friends are also seen as members of the public that require protection from the realities of police work, but this is also to protect the friendship that officer's value:

> 'I am always quite careful with my friends, most of who don't work in the police service, to discuss things about that because I see that the role of the police is to ensure that the bubble that everyone lives in…I see that the role of the police is to protect that bubble, so if I am there talking about ninety two year old ladies being cut open with all of their guts pulled out and people getting beaten up and stabbed in the street etc etc, it rather destroys that bubble, so I am always quite careful at that and also I want to maintain my friendships and I think that those sorts of incidents and discussions could potentially upset that.'

5.3.4 How Feeling Rules are Communicated and Enforced.

As identified by Arlie Hochschild (1983) feelings rules are not often directly articulated but are communicated through behaviours displayed within the community of belonging. In answering her own question 'How do we recognize a feeling rule?' Hochschild responds: 'We do so by inspecting how we assess our feelings, how other people assess our emotional display, and by sanctions issuing from ourselves and from them.' (Hocschild, 2003:57). In this section I examine how feeling rules and display rules are communicated within a police officer's life, examining displayed behaviour's and 'rule reminders' (Hochschild, 2003:57) as they are received from others within the organisational setting. In particular, I explore the power of sanctions as they are applied to emotional display in the police role.

5.3.5 How feeling and display rules are communicated by behaviours displayed by supervisors and colleagues.

Hochschild talks about 'rule reminders', where others within our social setting remind us of the expected emotional display within a set of circumstances (Hochschild, 2003). This can often be in the form of verbal nudges or questioning or challenging an assumed emotional state. However, it is the complete lack of response towards an officer's possible emotional state that is the stark reminder that emotions are not accepted within the police service.

This is made clear by Participant 21 who describes how, after dealing with a fatal traffic incident where a young man was decapitated in front of his friends:

> 'My line manger wasn't in the least bit bothered, he wasn't interested, in fact never once did he ask me how I felt about the matter that I had dealt with, he just left me to get on with it…'

Not only does this lack of interest contribute to the isolation of the officer, it also reminds them of just how little interest the organisation takes in their emotional wellbeing.

Although this form of rule reminder is recounted numerous times by participants, it is somewhat less demonstrative than the rule reminder that sees officers mock others that have been seriously assaulted. Participant 5 recounts how after being seriously injured and knocked out by an offender, he is greeted with 'banter' from his colleagues back at the station:

> 'when I got back to the nick it was very much kind of that pure banter "you are always causing shit, what's up with you like, you should have just driven past".'

Such comments are clearly silencing and leave no room for emotional expression of fear or distress, or even relief, reminding Participant 5 that there is not a place for emotional expression within an officer's life, even back at the station.

Such reminders from colleagues are often reinforced by supervisors. Staying with Participant 5's experience, his supervisor dismisses his situation and reminds him that he and his welfare are not a priority, with the offhand comment:

> 'if I get a chance, I will write you up for a good work minute.'

What is (almost) acknowledged here is the good police work in terms of apprehending a violent offender. However, what is not acknowledged is the traumatic situation that Participant 5 has been through. In fact, it is made clear that this is not a priority and any further consideration of the matter will only occur when and if all other higher priority matters are dealt with. This sends a clear message to the officer that this is the end of the conversation, as their supervisor is too busy to take it further.

Such reminders go a step further with more senior leaders within the organisation, where officers who go onto express their fears and concerns about operational decisions are reminded that their opinions and feelings are not valid, even when it is the officers themselves that will face the threat as a result of the decision:

> 'I got shut down completely and it was made very clear that we weren't to ask any questions, it was made very clear that we have got our place, you are in your place, and you don't say anything, you don't pipe up, you say nothing.'

Both the silence and the silencing serve as rule reminders to officers that emotions have no place in their lives where traumatic incidents are normalised as non-significant events, not requiring an emotional response:

> '…it was quite run of the mill to deal with people with very serious injuries, we never had any debrief, any trauma counselling and I have never, and you know that they bang on about this wellbeing oh and incidents will be debriefed and there will be trauma debriefing and all of this sort of stuff…Never in my whole ten and a half years as a regular, and two and a half as a special, never have I ever heard anybody mention this, other than paying lip service, nobody has ever

> asked about people's welfare. We have dealt with some very major incidents, some horrific jobs and nothing has even, I have never had a critical debrief over anything, which is just ridiculous, you know when you think of the amount of stuff that people deal with on a day to day basis on response.'

Rule reminders in the police are summed up by the classic police line *'nothing to see here'.*

5.3.6 How feeling and display rules are communicated by procedures and policy.

However, it is not just colleagues' behaviour that serves as reminders of the feeling and display rules. Policies and procedures also reinforce the rule that emotions are a weakness and have no part in a police officers' work. Not only do supervisors not take an interest in their officers' wellbeing, or provide any form of support, the organisation does not ensure that there is a supervisor present to ensure that officers return unharmed from attending incidents:

> 'I thought that I was going to get my head kicked in when I came out of there , I was physically shaking…I had nobody, there was nobody on our division in our unit, there was no supervision, I drew my gas so I was thinking well I need to do a 'use of force' form because I drew my gas, and I was thinking – have I managed this appropriately, am I going to have a complaint against me? So, I am then scurrying around looking for a supervisor, which is wrong really because nobody looked at my welfare of "are you alright?"'

Rather than just an absence of provision, policy can send a clear signal as to how unacceptable emotions are within the policing role. Participant 21 explains that as a Roads Policing officer he is required to attend a welfare appointment to assess his mental wellbeing. This is due to the increased amount of death and serious injury he is exposed too. However, appointments are every six months. On this occasion this left a significant amount of time between a particularly traumatic incident and his appointment:

> ‘every six months I am supposed to have a welfare appointment and I did have a welfare appointment with the welfare department, and that appointment is to really assess me to check that I am okay to carry on as a family liaison officer. When my appointment came around I did discuss it with the welfare officer, but again, by that time so much time had passed I suppose I really had started to put it into a box.’

There is a sense from P21’s statement that the welfare appointment is not to support the officer with their mental health, but to ascertain if they are fit to carry out their role. With appointments being six months apart, and no opportunity to discuss incidents between, the welfare appointments are perceived by P21 as not intended as a preventative or support measure, but as a form of screening. This sends the signal to officers that emotions are not an acceptable aspect of their role, but also that they too are expendable and not worth further investment. Another unintended consequence of this intermittent psychological screening is that officers’ resort to dissociating themselves from their emotions as a form of coping, in lieu of any suitable outlet (Aaron, 2000).

Taking a more direct approach, policies that govern an officers’ ability to communicate with the public or the media can also act as gagging orders, preventing officers from expressing their thoughts and feelings directly. In comparison to the feelings of other members of the public, officer’s emotions are not viewed as valid or worthy or consideration. Participant 15 explains how affecting this requirement to suppress emotion can be when he feels unjustly criticised as uncaring after taking the decision to conclude a rape investigation:

> ‘I don’t have the right to respond. I can’t write back to them and detail each one of their points about how wrong they are, and actually I do care, and that your perceptions of me from one letter are wrong. I feel that they are being unfair, and I have not got, I haven’t got the right to reply, but obviously I remain professional throughout.’

Here, ‘professional’ is taken to mean unemotional.

Indeed, not only are feeling and display rules supported by policy and procedure, officers are also under constant surveillance from the organisation via body worn cameras. This too serves to enforce the compliance with the rules as officers are aware that every emotional display is being recorded:

> 'I couldn't really talk to anyone at the time, I was body camera videoing the whole thing because I carry a tazer and I was the only person on scene with a body camera, as soon as I got there it went straight on.'

5.3.7 How feeling and display rules are communicated through training.

Taking this a step further, officers talk about emotional suppression being taught:

> 'we do deal with like some real situations like that where you get emotionally involved and things happen, and bad things happen, and we are supposed to just carry on acting professional and it is what is drummed into you.'

Officers are taught decision making via the Police National Decision-Making Model (NDM) which does not contain any reference to emotions or emotional consideration (see Figure 4: National Decision Making-Model). Decisions are to be dealt with clinically and without the consideration or acknowledgement of emotion (even though this may influence decision making).

> 'You are trained to deal with everything, spin the NDM, the National Decision-Making Model, and you just deal with it un-emotionally.'

Fig 4: National Decision-Making Model.

Even when emotions are running high after a car chase, a fight and then the decision to taser:

> 'you have to go into the sort of post incident stuff and be like, how are you doing are you okay you have been tasered, blah blah blah, and I suppose my emotions again for a little bit longer take a back seat to training.'

5.3.8 How feeling and display rules are communicated through sanctions.

Hochschild (1983) identifies sanctions that can be incurred if it is judged that feeling rules are infringed. Hochschild talks of sanctions in forms of ridicule or encouragement to correct feelings so that they comply with accepted convention. This can be identified within the police culture:

> 'If my line manager was here and I did say to him "I haven't got the energy you know, the sort of resilience to go out" he would probably take the piss to be honest or make a joke. Again, I would just take that on the chin because that is what cops do really, you know, we do just get told to crack on with things and we are having to do things that we might not want to do.'

The sanctions for emotional expression within the police can be more direct, impacting n officer's career. Many participants talked about the fear of losing their 'ticket' (written authorisation) to carry either a firearm, or a taser, or just to lose their position on a specialist unit if they were to express any emotion to their supervisors or colleagues. It would seem that this fear is not unjustified, as Participant 4 finds out when they seek some form of support in the wake of a terrorist incident.

Participant 4 has been diagnosed with PTSD as a direct result of working on a terrorist investigation as a Family Liaison Officer and in the Casualty Bureau. Identifying her increasing distress, Participant 4 requested to work at different location for the anniversary of the terrorist attack:

> 'I started the conversation with my line manager…I said "this is making me feel quite unwell, I would like to work from another station", and I was told that as a police officer they didn't know whether they could allow me not to come in and work on the operation… I was given permission eventually but told that… I would need to come in and discuss my future with the unit and whether it was appropriate I work there…there were emails coming out about speak to somebody if you are finding this work difficult, speak to our counselling telephone service, look around at your colleagues…we have practitioners on duty the day before and the day after should you need to speak to a mental health nurse, and yet, when I did ask, although I was in a sense given the support, that I just feel that there was no acknowledgement of the circumstance that had brought me there, the work that I had done, and it was almost like a veiled threat: if you are not up for this then you need to consider your options.'

The feeling and display rules that state that police officers should not experience or display emotions are not only enforced within the organisation but are also legally enforced within the courts. As police officers are law abiding as well as law upholding citizens, then this is the ultimate position:

> ‘Lawyers at court have argued that as a police officer you should be expected to undergo some kind of threats and abuse during your shift, that is the nature of your work and if you can’t handle it they you shouldn’t be an officer.’

This sends the message that police officers are different to other human beings as if the same offence had occurred against a member of the public, a conviction would be obtained.

5.4 Category Three: Themes Examining Psychological Outcomes.

This final category looks at how participants experiences reflect Maslach and Jackson’s (1981) concept of burnout, breaking this down into the three components of Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalisation and lack of Personal Accomplishment. I then examine how participants experienced elements of dissociation, comparing participant narrative to descriptions of dissociative behaviour within the extant literature and Diagnostic Statistical Manual V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Throughout these psychological experiences are tied into the feeling and display rules at play. This is represented at Appendix P: Audio Diary Themes Examining Psychological Outcomes.

5.4.1 Burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1981).

In their original 1979 study into burned-out New York police officers and their families, Maslach and Jackson identified that it was the psychological stress of police work, rather than the physical hazards, which were more likely to be debilitating (Maslach and Jackson, 1979:59). They identified how individuals come to distrust and dislike the clients that they worked with, employing a detached and callous attitude as a ‘protective device: it reduces the amount of emotional involvement.’ (1979:59). Not dissimilar to the dissociative behaviour of emotional detachment this is termed depersonalisation – however, this is dissimilar to the behaviour of depersonalisation which is a sense of detachment from oneself (Lanius et al., 2010). Depersonalisation as an aspect of burnout corresponds to the notion of coping

whereby officers treat individuals as objects rather than people in an attempt to protect themselves from the emotional demands created through engagement with others and can see individuals present as negative, hostile or excessively detached (Lee and Ashforth, 1990; Maslach and Leiter, 2016).

Participants talk of a number of ways that they depersonalise the people around them, with a number of different motivations for doing so. In general, there is an acceptance of how officers are expected to behave, and this falls in line with the feeling and display rules that require emotional suppression:

> 'There was an expected way that police behave and that is to get that authoritarian control, and then you almost end up talking down to people and there is very little ability to speak to people on a level playing field.'

This becomes restrictive in how officers can respond to people, with the focus placed on control and not empathy. However, not identifying members of the public as human beings seems to be the norm, where empathy for people and their situations is unlikely and even frowned upon:

> 'a lot of people just look at him and dismiss him and just think "oh he is just a smack head and he is just a car thief…a lot of people are so hard in the police a lot of people are so hardened to people like this guy that I was talking to and they don't give them a second thought…I think that we over look a lot of people that we are dealing with..'

> 'I just felt that I couldn't express the empathy for him, because it wasn't acceptable to other colleagues.'

Even when dealing with vulnerable witnesses, officers seem to lose sight of the person in front of them and become more focussed on the value they can add to an investigation, regardless of the impact on the individual:

> 'She was getting carried away because, as I say she was desperate to get that information for her investigation, but lost sight of what the child was…'

This attitude towards victims and witnesses which fails to see them as human beings is supported by the feeling and display rules that see a deriding attitude towards members of the public as permissible:

> 'some of them are more needy and complex than others…it gets quite tedious quite quickly…it is such a waste of police time, we are pandering to this juvenile, he is just so weary…you just spend forever on paper work going blind doing application…to prove the offence when it is utter shit…I do want to really say to them just stop being a twat all of you, and you feel like you just want to get them into a room and shake them.'

Officers experience an increase in depersonalisation that can also be linked to over exposure to situations:

> 'I have dealt with lots of collisions like this before, I am not bothered about seeing people with no head, I have done that lots of times.'

Although officers do recognise when they are no longer experiencing what they would consider to be 'normal responses' to the situations they are exposed to:

> 'I found a male who had been beaten very, very badly in the hall way and my initial thought process was "fucking hell he is dead – I am going to be all night here on scene"…that is not a normal thought of seeing another human being beaten within an inch of their life of – oh Christ I am going to be here all night, I am not going to get any refs, you know, poor me. And that was sort of the thing that made me realise for my own sort of wellbeing and sanity, I need to come off this front-line role because I am so sort of conditioned to seeing bad things that I don't have the normal response of what somebody else should have.'

5.4.2 Emotional Exhaustion.

In their 1979 study, Maslach and Jackson state that depersonalisation is a coping mechanism employed to avoid, or in response to, emotional exhaustion. However, it would seem that depersonalisation in police officers begins in response to feeling

and display rules that restrict empathetic engagement with members of the public and extends via the feeling rule that permits deriding attitudes towards members of the public. It would also seem that depersonalisation also comes as a result of over exposure to others suffering, causing emotional exhaustion and resulting in depersonalisation, as seen above. This could also be considered an aspect of dissociation where officers aren't experiencing feelings that they feel they ought (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

> 'it got to the point where I was dealing with every rape, every sexual offence, every domestic, all the stuff of basically on frontline "oh that is a female job, oh high risk domestic – you go to that. Oh yeah, she has been battered, you go to that. Yeah she has been raped or alleging rape – you go to that". And I think I just became so emotionally detached from people because you had to be, because I was witnessing some really horrific things every day and trying to stay strong for people like victims and witnesses who I was trying to deal with I think it completely skewed how I perceived the world and how I then sort of reacted and normal emotions I feel like I completely had a barrier up and didn't really know how to cope with that.'

Emotional Exhaustion is considered to occur when workers spend a considerable amount of their time working closely with others whilst under a significant amount of psychological strain, and when contact with others is often emotionally charged and experienced in an environment of tension and stress. Individuals can 'feel drained and used up, without any source of replenishment. They lack enough energy to face another day or another person in need' (Maslach and Leiter, 2016:351). This can lead to physiological outcomes such as insomnia and physical fatigue, as well as psychological ill-health such as anxiety (Maslach and Jackson, 1979; Lee and Ashforth, 1990).

> 'When I got back home I just felt drained, I just felt tired…I felt that everybody was at risk, nobody was going to be safe…'

The relentless nature of present-day police work sees officers dealing with high risk, high threat situations, without time to process their emotions in between incidents leading to a build-up of emotion:

> 'there is that much that goes on every day, where do you start, which bit do you do, and which bit do you digest, at the minute it just feels like everting when you try and look back on something else and reflect on it, you get given something else to deal with, and that is the difficulty I think, is finding the time to process that quickly and effectively, rather than letting it build up and be in a muddle and then you can't process the information which is how I have been feeling in the last couple of weeks.'

This is psychologically compromising, which also has physiological impact:

> 'I am not sleeping, I am certainly not sleeping well, that is leaving me feeling a little bit frazzled…I feel quite burnt out, I am conscious that I have got loads and loads and loads to do and I don't want to do any of it and I know that is not a good sign.'

> 'after doing visits back to back for the last couple of days, the thought of going and speaking, and having to sort of, interrogate is probably the wrong word, but speak with these sex offenders, having to challenge them over their offences, over their just life style in general, it was, it is hard work…when you have seen four or five within a day, you just feel emotionally and physically drained…I just didn't have the energy and the head space really to go out and listen to these offenders and try and sort of empathise with them really'

5.4.3 Lack of Personal Accomplishment.

All of this is compounded by officers' sense of professional inefficacy: feeling that they can't meet the demands of their role, that they can't provide the service that they wish for their communities, and that the hard work that they do goes unnoticed and unvalued by the organisation and the general public. A reduced sense of

personal accomplishment is linked to self-efficacy and a sense of inadequacy to perform their role well, this can lead individuals to see themselves as a failure (Maslach and Leiter, 2016).

This is articulated by Participant 8, who has worked on the same neighbourhood for 15 years, but has got to the point where they don't feel that they can deliver the service the community deserves:

> 'I have got to the point in the job where I am extremely frustrated and I recognise it in myself, I am getting really, really frustrated in the job, with the lack of resources, and I feel frustrated with the service that we are providing to the public, that really stresses me out a lot…I have been getting angry with a lot of my colleagues and I have definitely recognised that in myself...I know that that is a symptom, well I think that that is a symptom of my frustration and stress, but really I think that it is just a symptom of the way that the job has gone because we are not providing that service that I think that we should be.'… 'I love the area, I love the community, I have made loads of friends in the community actually, but I just feel that we are not giving it the justice and the service that it deserves and the more that I am in that situation now, I think that it is going to make me, not ill, but frustrated and angry and more stressed because we are not doing what we should be doing.'

Eventually this leads Participant 8 to recognise that they are becoming ill and they take the decision to apply for another role, away from the front line:

> 'I am passionate about policing and I really, really care and I do want to make a difference, but it has got to the point where, I can't, where I can't tolerate it an longer, it is making me feel ill being out there on the streets really, so that is why I have gone into a difference department which is probably a step closer to leaving the police because at some point I am sure I am going to get frustrated of being in here because you can't do enough.'

This frustration of not being able to deliver the service that officer would wish, is further compounded by the lack of recognition from senior leaders as officers go 'above and beyond' to try and meet the needs of the communities they serve, while being significantly under resourced:

> 'there hasn't been anything really to make me feel like the sixteen-hour shift and significant effort that I have put in is recognised, valued. No positive feedback and it all just feels like it is taken for granted and it begs the question really, why am I bothering, for the first time in a long time I have started thinking about different options as to what I can do…it is yesterday's chip paper so to speak, so it is just frustrating really that you can knock your pipe out, you can work until you make yourself feel unwell, you can go without your breaks you can work like a bloody idiot and it is just as if the command team are like – yep, next.'

Regularly officers articulate recognising how their work is making them ill, and this is often the driver for officers to move away from their current roles.

5.4.4 Dissociation.

In previous studies into police stress, dissociation has been found to be a form of psychological avoidance and coping and is described as a 'splitting off from awareness, thoughts, feelings, or memories' (Aaron, 2000:439). Exploring dissociation further within the psychological literature it is described as emotional detachment and disengagement from trauma memory. Where Depersonalisation and Derealisation are experienced as an aspect of dissociation, individuals describe being detached from aspects of their self, such as feelings. This can present as physical and emotional numbing or active compartmentalisation, disruption and detachment from emotions (Aaron, 2000; Lanius et al. 2010; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Hypo-emotionality is described as 'I know I have feelings, but I don't feel them' (American Psychiatric Association, 2013:302) and hypo-reactivity as presenting and feeling robotic, something that officers regularly express as an

expectation, as well as an outcome of emotional labour. In all, dissociation involves high emotional regulation and modulation (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

Dissociation is an important coping mechanism for officers that need to carry out their role at the scene of an incident (peri-dissociation), but post traumatic dissociation (persistent dissociation) has been identified as directly contributing towards the onset of PTSD (Briere et al. 2005; Murray et al., 2002). However, this seems an expectation of officer behaviour, enforced by the feeling rule that emotional expression and display are a sign of weakness and incompetence. What this leads to is officers experiencing an extended dissociative state, post trauma, as experienced by Participant 1 who is injured and covered in blood after attending the scene of a murder and attempting to save the life of the victim:

> 'You can't really think about the emotions at that time…You are trained to deal with everything through the NDM (National Decision-Making Model), and you just deal with it unemotionally…I sort of avoided it. It was a big shock of a situation and I just didn't engage with it really.' (after the incident back at the station) 'I cleaned my kit, washed my kit and had a shower and got back out.'

This avoidance of emotion continues to the point where Participant 1 feels that they are not emotionally affected by the incident, but on experiencing a physiological response (insomnia) Participant 1 suspects that he is more affected than he would like to admit to himself:

> 'I remember not being able to sleep… just wide awake and not knowing why…because for all of that time I was trying to suppress it and I am like I am not bothered by it which just came into so why am I feeling with way about it then? I didn't acknowledge that it was so stuck in my mind.''

What becomes concerning is how officers appear to be in a generalised dissociative state, where they are no longer engaging with emotions and dissociated on attending incidents. As described by Participant 2 on attending a natural sudden death:

> ‘I found myself quite detached from it, and noticeably trying to force some sort of emotional response towards the wife. A bit of an unusual ability to sort of relate to the wife in any sort of meaningful way.’

Participant 2 also describes being hyporeactive, emotionally responding in a robotic manner, almost automatically searching a body whilst thinking about his dinner:

> ‘I was left alone to search the body, although I was noting everything that was on the body, all that was going through the back of my head was whether I was going to stop for a kebab or Chinese on the way back to the station, I found that quite bizarre.’

Whether intentional or not, robotic behaviour is an experience that is echoed by a number of participants as an everyday behaviour:

> ‘I had to completely switch off to everything…but I felt like I was doing it as a robot, just to sort of protect myself…I just had to put all of that aside just to get the job done… I just got on with it and tried to forget about it, just like we do with most jobs.’

> ‘I suppressed all of my emotions it almost became robotic.’

Participants often reported feeling quite de-realised in the situations that they attend, noting the surreal nature of their work as they attempt to normalise their behaviour in response. Participant 5 articulates how officers can go from dealing with the mundane routine of life, and then into a crisis situation:

> ‘he was absolutely dripping in blood… it is half past seven in the morning, and you know your adrenaline is rushing though you and you are thinking, you know Jesus Christ this is crazy… it was still a little bit of a shock to the system and at half past seven when you are just finished your coffee and your sausage and egg muffin it was a bit weird.’

This dissociative experience, and intentionally avoiding emotions eventually takes its toll and bleeds into officer’s lives outside of work, where emotions are distinctly absent from family events:

> ‘I am noticing more and more I am numb to things, so I don’t show emotions, and something I do…the funeral went, again I didn’t get upset.’

Eventually the complex emotions that officers experience, but seek to avoid, take their toll:

> ‘dealing with him I just felt no emotion, nothing, I was just sort of numb again to the feelings of the range of emotions that we have to go through each policing day. One minute there is aggression, to one minute sympathy and empathy…I am just jaded by the job, and tired and tired of dealing with these people that feel compelled to abuse us, assault us and just generally treat us with no respect whatsoever.’

> ‘It does make me feel quite isolated really, it feels like I carry a burden that I have to carry, and there is no other option really…it can be isolating, and it is just something that you put to the back of your mind.’

5.6 Chapter Summary.

Table Three: Summary of Narrative Analysis of Audio Diaries.

CATEGORY	THEME	FINDINGS
General Themes	Incidents Narrated	• 9 types of incidents • Main topics: Violence against the person & how officers are treated by colleagues • Previous incidents fuel future anxiety.
	Main Characters Presented	• Frustrating Colleagues • Insensitive Senior Officers • Unsupportive Supervisors
	Participants/ Protagonists Position	• Officers subjugate themselves to rules & are powerless
	Main Emotions Experienced	• Anxiety • Sadness • Frustration
Themes of Emotional Labour	Experienced Emotional Labour	• Emotions are a sign of weakness • Officers are aware that they are acting emotions • Feeling and Display Rules restrict compassion with members of the public and colleagues • Officers suppress emotions to comply with feeling and display rules and in order not to worry family • Officers feel they are expected to behave in a robotic manner with no feelings or needs • Aggression between colleagues is common place and accepted • Aggression by senior colleagues is common place and goes unchallenged (due to perceived lack of power)

		• Derogatory behaviour in reference to members of the public is a form of bonding and expected behaviour
	Feeling & Display Rules: Emotions are a sign of incompetence	• Officers must suppress fear or distress • Officers can't speak to supervisors about emotions for fear of losing position ('ticket') • Officers that express emotions are not trusted by peers or supervisors
	Feeling & Display Rules: members of the public should not be exposed to police officers' emotions	• Emotional display with members of the public is inappropriate • Officers need to be strong in distressing situations – even with family members
	How Feeling & Display Rules are communicated and enforced	• Colleagues' behaviour amounts to 'rule reminders' • Supervisors don't ask officers how they are after traumatic incidents • Colleagues banter prevents officers opening up to peers • Junior officers are shut down by senior officers • General silence is, in its self, silencing Through procedures and policy: • Welfare provision is perceived as being there to reduce risk to the organisation • Officers are unable to express their position (even of compassion) to victims and witnesses • The wearing of body worn video is silencing Through training: • Officers are taught to deal with incidents and make decision through the National Decision-Making Model which does not reference or consider emotions – of anyone Through Sanctions: • Officers who do speak out or seek support are isolated by peers and supervisors and physically removed from teams • Officers lose their specialist position

		• The courts reinforce the belief that officers' feelings are less than that of other members of the public.
Themes Examining Psychological Outcomes	Burnout	Depersonalisation: • This is an expectation of the organisational feeling & display rules • This is an outcome of the pressures of the role • This is an outcome of organisational feeling & display rules • Officers no longer have normal emotional responses to normally distressing or stressful incidents Emotional Exhaustion: • The intensity of the work means the exposure to incidents is relentless • Officers are exhausted by the things that they deal with on a daily basis • Emotional complexity of daily work is exhausting to engage with • Officers suffer physiological symptoms eg. not being able to sleep Lack of Personal Accomplishment: • Officers are frustrated that they can't deliver the level of service that they would wish • Officers are frustrated that their hard work is not recognised, and this leads to an intention to quit
	Dissociation	• Behaviour typical of peri-dissociation is a form of coping and trained via the National Decision-Making Model • Officers actively numb their emotions to comply with the feeling and display rules • Officers can no longer recognise their own emotions • Officers can no longer feel their own emotions • Officers no longer experience emotional responses to normally distressing emotional stimuli – even family events • Officers experience derealisation as an aspect of the normalising of the events that they attend on a daily basis

Using the qualitative method of audio diary within this study has given participants the space and security to articulate their emotional experiences freely. In doing so this has allowed the capture of not only the emotions that officers experience, but the underlying processes that lead to officers' emotional silence, suppression, modulation, and potentially increased mental ill health. Giving participants the space to explore what it is they perceive is expected of them, how they respond to this, and consequently how this leads to the arise of stress outcomes, is crucial to this study in building significantly on the current understanding of emotional labour in policing and potential psychological outcomes.

Without the use of this method, participants within this study would not have been able to articulate their perception of the feeling and display rules that enforce the creation of a culture of emotional suppression that not only hinders officer coping, but also creates an environment that increases the likelihood of experienced PTSD through dissociation and emotional numbing. The level of anxiety that is experienced is often increased through concerns over internal investigations into conduct and decision making, or the inability to service the needs of communities, an emotional experience which is linked to dissociative PTSD (Briere et al. 2005; Murray et al., 2002). This is a significant finding which indicates that it is not necessarily the trauma itself that leads to dissociative behaviour and potentially PTSD symptomology, but the fear of internal investigations and the lack of support provided for officers.

Using their audio diary entries participants articulated how they are consciously aware of actively modulating their emotional responses as a requirement of the feeling and display rules applied to the role of the police officer. Not only do officers experience dissociation as part of their working lives, this has a knock-on effect in how they consider the people they work with. Officers express being robotic in their behaviour as an expectation, but the pressures and processes of the job also lead them to fail to view the members of the public that they come into contact with as rounded human beings, essentially depersonalising them as a consequence of their work. This builds upon the findings of Pogrebin and Poole (1991) Aaron (2000), Bakker and Heuven (2006, Schaible and Gecas (2010) and Daus and Brown (2012) in not only establishing the mechanisms that underly emotional suppression but also

making the link between this emotional labour and potential psychological outcomes.

It is also the attitude of senior leaders and how officers feel valued, or not, that contributes to dissociative behaviour. Uncaring attitudes reinforce the feeling and display rule that emotions are not accepted within the police role. Only humour is accepted as a way of discussing incidents with colleagues. Over all, participants expressed the isolation of not being able to speak openly to anyone within their lives. Participants talk of protecting loved ones from the distress of their work but also to reassure their families that they are emotionally strong and capable of doing their job. All this leads to feeling and display rules that stretch beyond the working lives of officers and into their private and social lives. Indeed, there is a sense that police officers are seen as different entities to the rest of their communities, with feeling and display rules that set expectations of non-emotional beings that can carry on, no matter what:

> 'We are supposed to be a pillar of the community, to be strong mentally and physically and at the end of the day we are only human beings.'

Chapter Six: Phase Three - Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Phenomenological Semi-Structured Interviews.

6.1 Introduction.

This chapter analyses the interviews of two sets of participants: serving police officers and ex-police officers. These two groups were selected as it was anticipated that they would have different perspectives on their experience of emotional labour as a police officer. It was anticipated that the participants in the group of serving officers would provide a perspective of an individual who was still trying to adhere to the rules of the organisation (reflecting the findings of Grandey et al., 2015), as they were continuing with their careers in the police service. It made sense that the second group of ex-officers would be freer to speak of their emotions as they were no longer subject to the feeling and display rules applied to police officers, however, they also potentially came with a more negative impression of the service, depending on the reason and manner they left the organisation. Therefore, these two groups provided a balance to each other's perspectives of their emotional experiences as police officers, and an insightful addition to the audio diary data and analysis of Phase Two.

The data collection method of Phase Three used a phenomenological interview strategy to enable the capture of an in-depth description of the lived experience of the emotional labour phenomenon (Roulston, 2010). The interviews were guided by the different elements of the emotional labour construct, the themes from the initial media analysis at Phase One, and of the audio diaries in Phase Two, and structured by the work of Bevan (2014), leading the participants through Contextualisation, Apprehending the Phenomenon, and Clarifying the Phenomenon (2014) (Appendix F: Interview Questions). This aids participants in moving beyond the descriptive and into truly reflecting on the internal mechanisms that contribute to their behaviour, and subsequently their wellbeing. The use of the data analysis from Phase Two to guide the interviews, along with the emotional labour construct, means that

although this Phase of analysis is an interpretation of the phenomenon under study, rather than a narrative analysis as in Phase Two, there is still an overlap and repetition of themes between the phases. This also draws out a greater complexity of officers lived experience of emotional labour, whilst at the same time strengthening the findings within this study.

The two groups were initially examined separately using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), creating two sets of Superordinate and Subordinate themes. IPA uses Superordinate and Subordinate themes to allow the researcher to articulate how the overriding Superordinate themes are articulated through different experiences within the related cluster of Subordinated themes. The Superordinate and Subordinate themes are reported on within their own groups via table and discursive format below, this structure was adopted to provide an overview of findings prior to going into the detailed analysis supported by data extracts. There is clearly a crossover of themes, not only between the two groups (which might be expected), but between the Superordinate themes within groups. Traditionally IPA has sought to create discrete groups of phenomenological themes as interpreted within the data. However, this did not reflect the reality of the participants lived experience – and to assert that one theme does not relate or influence another would be too reductionist and a crude oversimplification for this study. Therefore, I have represented the cross over, inter group and across group, at the beginning of each groups' Superordinate section of analysis. Not only does this highlight the complexity of emotional labour as a lived experience for police officers, but it also draws out an important methodological point – though having discrete themes enables the analysis of phenomena, should IPA at the same time restrict the recording of the blurred nature and interconnection of such experiences? Drawing out the theoretical contribution made here, these unique elements will be further discussed.

Although this study seeks to identify elements of emotional labour within officers' lives, this did not drive the interpretation, and the themes identified reflect the perceived phenomenological experience of both groups of participants as articulated themselves. The aspects of emotional labour identified are drawn out within the descriptive analysis and finally drawn together within the summary, where both groups interpretative work is related back to the emotional labour construct and the first four of the **Principle Research Questions**:

1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers?

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

3. How do these rules contribute to police officer psychological health?

4. To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms?

6.2 Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis of semi-structured interviews with serving officers.

Here I present the findings of the interviews with the serving officers. Initially I represent the cross over between the Subordinate themes at Figure 6. The Suffocating Web of Emotional Labour: Serving Officers. I then present these in greater detail in table form with each Superordinate form linked to its cluster of Subordinate themes. I then proceed on to discuss each Superordinate theme in detail, illustrated by extracts of the data, linking into the extant literature and the previous data set from Phase Two.

AA10: IPA INTERVIEWS (APPENDIX A: AUTHOR'S REFLEXIVE DIARY). HERE I REFLECT ON BOTH MY METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND ALSO MY OWN RESEARCH EXPERIENCE.

Fig. 5 The Suffocating Web of Emotional Labour: Serving Officers.

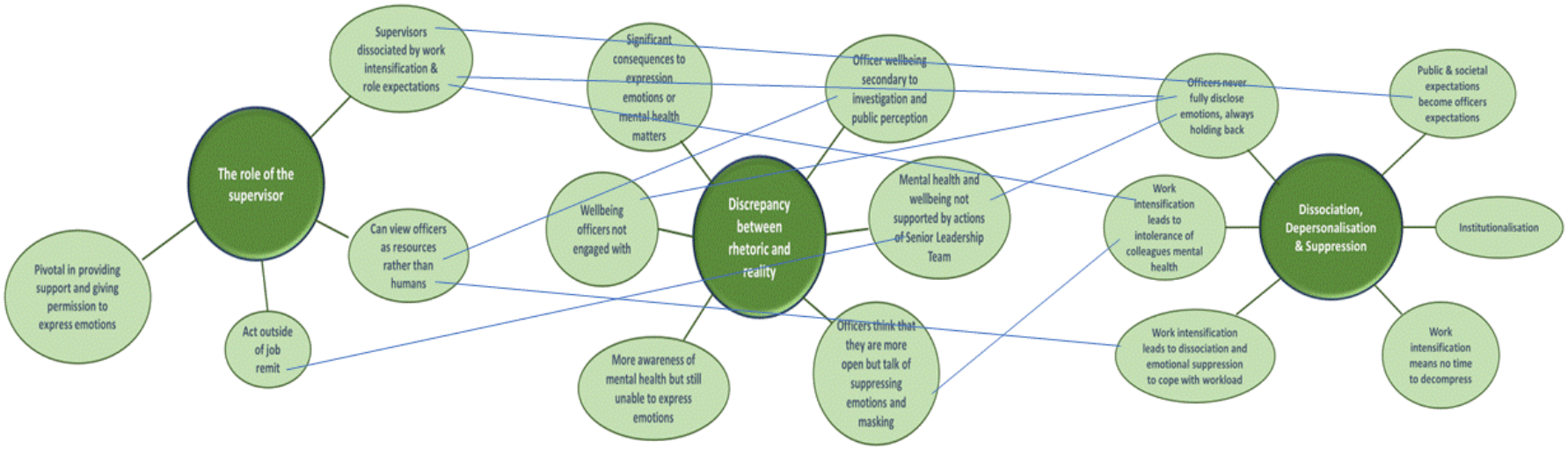


Table Four: Superordinate and Subordinate Themes of Serving Officers.

SUPERORDINATE	SUBORDINATE
Discrepancy between Rhetoric and Reality There is a sense that there is an awareness within the organisation for the need for better mental health and a drive to improve officer resilience. However, officers still state that they cannot talk about their feelings and that they mask their authentic emotions. Officers talk of consequences to expressing emotions, and it seems that emotional expression or expressing mental health illness is seen as a weakness and sign of being incapable to perform their role. Indeed, the organisations efforts to improve the mental health of its employees seems more punitive than supportive.	• Greater awareness of MH in job, but still feel unable to express emotions • Officers think they are more open but then talk of suppressing and masking • Mental well-being and health not supported by actions of SLT • Officer well-being secondary to investigation and public perception • Wellbeing Officers not engaged with • Significant consequences to expressing emotion or MH matters
The Role of the Supervisor (positive and negative) Supervisors can challenge culture by leading the way and expressing their own emotions. They can also value their staff, which humanises officers and strengthens trusting relationships. However, the opposite is the norm. Supervisors are often suffering through their own work and responsibility and view their staff dehumanised resources. They seem burned out and unable to empathise with officer's emotional challenges or needs.	• Pivotal in providing support and giving permission (or orders) to express emotion • Act outside of job remit (go the extra mile to support officers) • Can view officers as resources rather than humans • Supervisors dissociated through work intensification and role expectations
Dissociation, Depersonalisation and Suppression Officers have no time to process their emotions between jobs. Therefore, they learn to supress their emotions so that they can effectively deal with the expectations of the next member of public who requires them. As a result, officers actively avoid engaging with emotions, this leads to fatigue and an intolerance of others emotional expression. The longer that officers serve the more expressed emotional suppression becomes and officers are not only subject to the feeling rules of the organisation and society, but actively perpetuate them. For this reason and the fear of the consequences, officers never at any stage or within any relationship within their life, fully disclose their feelings.	• Work intensification contributes to intolerance of colleagues MH • Work intensification contributes to dissociative behaviour and emotional suppression to cope with workload • Work intensification, no time to decompress • Institutionalisation • Public and societal expectations become officer expectations • Never fully disclose, always holding back (fear)

6.2.1 Serving Officers Superordinate Theme One: Discrepancy Between Rhetoric and Reality.

Discrepancy between Rhetoric and Reality There is a sense that there is an awareness within the organisation for the need for better mental health and a drive to improve officer resilience. However, officers still state that they cannot talk about their feelings and that they mask their authentic emotions. Officers talk of consequences to expressing emotions, and it seems that emotional expression or expressing mental health illness is seen as a weakness and sign of being incapable to perform their role. Indeed, the organisations efforts to improve the mental health of its employees seems more punitive than supportive.	• More awareness of MH in job, but still feel unable to express emotions • Officers think they are more open but then talk of suppressing and masking • Mental Well-being and health not supported by actions of SLT • Officer wellbeing secondary to investigation and public perception • Wellbeing initiatives not engaged with • Significant consequences to expressing emotion or MH matters

In recent years there has been an increasing awareness of the need to improve the general mental health of officers within the UK. Many forces have set up well-being programmes, with the early emphasis on stress related sickness. As a result, well-being and mental health have entered the language of the police service, creating the perception that mental health and well-being are better supported within the organisation:

> ‘I think that the force has moved on hugely in relation to mental well-being’
>
> ‘it is getting there, it is certainly spoken about a lot more.’

However, advancing the work of Howard et al. (2000), participants articulated how this is contradicted by the reality of the attitude towards mental illness, as experienced by officers:

> ‘I think that there is still an intolerance as such… if an officer is off sick with stress or depression or anxiety etc. that is still seen as a weakness.’

So negative is the attitude to mental ill health, is that it impacts individual coping abilities and help seeking behaviour, creating a sense of shame and isolation for officers suffering with mental ill-health:

> ‘So, I am very embarrassed, about PTSD, very embarrassed, because it is a weakness isn’t it?’

There is a clear sense of being judged as inadequate for the role. This builds on the findings of Phase Two (5.3.1 of this study) where participants expressed feeling and display rules that advocated emotional experience and expression as a sign of weakness, the quote above highlights the emotional response to not adhering to the feeling and display rules – shame.

This is quite an interesting conflict of views – on one hand officers take the organisational line – expressing an improvement in the attitude to well-being, but then evidencing the contrary. Almost as if the expression of positive well-being is an aspect of feeling and display rules, and officers are actually surface acting this point, as if toeing the party line. Indeed, the difference in perspective expressed here between Phase Two and Phase Three could also be attributed to the data collection methods: in Phase Two participants are free to express the feeling and display rules that emotional experience and expression is considered a weakness as there is restricted researcher involvement due to the independent nature of the recordings (audio diary). Whereas the participants in Phase Three are speaking to myself, so may feel the need to comply with a feeling and display rule that insists that officers express a better organisational attitude towards mental health. This is an example of

the subtleties of power, as articulated by Max (cited in Lukes, 1974) and Foucault (1986) and how officers subjugate themselves to social power, as feeling and display rules are normalised into everyday life.

The subtleties of power that Marx (cited in Lukes, 1974) highlighted are identified when participants speak about support services that are either not appropriate within the police setting or fit for purpose in terms of delivery. Some were so poorly provided that officers were unable to access them at the point of need:

> 'we have a well-being worker… she is lovely, but every time I see her she is sat at her computer, because that is just how cops are, because they are not going to just tell somebody, and it kind of feels like they're still paying lip service to it, as opposed to actively encouraging it..'

> 'we have a welfare officer but the welfare officer covers *the county*.'

Often the provision of support services is sparse, adding to the sense that the well-being agenda is *seen to be done*, rather than a genuine attempt at providing meaningful support for officers:

> 'they just go "ring CIC" *(Confidential Helpline)* but it takes me six weeks to get to see someone, I can't go to occy health because there isn't any spots, and I have got to go through an assessment process.'

The message that officers take from this is that officer well-being is an afterthought and secondary to the policing role, and much of the initiatives that forces engage with are perceived as disingenuous. This all reinforces officers understanding that experiencing emotions and (poor) mental health are contrary to good policing skills, with emotional expression seen as a weakness and mental health illness seen as incompetence. Consequently, emotional suppression is still a significant aspect of policing culture. When asked about emotional display participants felt that emotions were still very much a taboo subject:

> 'I think that it is still very much frowned upon to have those discussions.'

> '(emotion)…hidden and masked'

One participant spoke of resigning from their public order role, but never truly admitting why:

> 'It is only more recently I have been able to say out loud actually I was very scared, but I would never admit that professionally... I have spent so many years being scared that you don't show it, you learn that you cannot be scared in front of the public, cannot be scared in front of the team…I have never really spoken about until last week.'

It is not just the judgement of supervisors or senior leaders that officers seek to avoid, but officers are also aware of their colleagues' perceptions and expectations around emotional expression. So much so that they modify their behaviour depending on whether they are with another officer or not. One normally empathetic participant reflected on how they were sensitive to the judgement of other officers and supressed their natural reactions in response:

> 'when I am out with other people, I am very guarded as to how I might react to something… it is easier just to deal with it, sort of cold if you like.'

Sadly, this results in a dispassionate service provided to members of the public, as officers feel that they are not able to display compassion or empathy to the people that they are engaging with. However, this perception is also perpetuated by the very public that officers look to protect:

> 'They expect the uniform to turn up, and make it better, fix, do something… but it is almost like they forget that the uniform isn't just an emotionless robot, it, there is a person behind it as well.'

Robot was a term often used, even within the organisation and in relation to the expectations of the organisation, again this corroborates the research in Phase Two (5.3.1. of this study) and compliments the research in Phase One – where officers are depicted to members of the public as emotionless beings, and Phase Two where officers recognise the need to be robotic in their behaviour as an aspect of their role. This also reflects the symptomology of dissociation and depersonalisation in the DSM V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013) and my early research (Lennie et al.,

2019). Indeed, there seems to be a significant disconnect between well-being initiatives and the daily business of police work:

> 'me as an individual doesn't count at that time, I am there representing the police…'

The constant reinforcement of the rules around emotional expression are identified by officers at every point within the organisation. Senior Officers are often found wanting when it came to considering officers mental health needs, even at times of significant events when an obvious need would have been anticipated.

One participant talked about being on a team who were first responders to a significant terrorist attack. The participant spoke about how officers were not given any time to process their experiences or emotions, and were expected to return to work the next day; responding to routine calls without acknowledging the events of the day before:

> 'They just didn't get it, they didn't get the emotions that everyone was going through. There was a full expectation that we would just come back in as if nothing had happened and just carry on.'

This forced emotional suppression requires officers to engage in persistent dissociative behaviour (emotional numbing post traumatic event) know to lead to PTSD symptomology, again echoing the findings of Phase Two (5.3.1 in this study) (Briere et al. 2005; Murray et al., 2002).

Participants were very aware of the consequences of expressing emotions or disclosing mental ill-health, either through their own experiences or directly observing a close colleagues experience. The examples given illustrated supervisory responses and organisational policies that were punitive in their effect, and indiscriminate in their application regardless as to whether the illness and distress was as a result of police work or other environmental factors.

One participant spoke about being ill after investigating two child suicides simultaneously, which resulted in a period of absence from work for stress and depression (diagnosed). On their return to work they were placed on an action plan

as their sickness had been up and down for over three years – commencing with the still birth of their first child. Not only was this a stressful experience which eroded the trust between the participant and their supervision, it also precluded the participant from entering the promotion process despite having successfully passed the required exams. There was no support offered, only monitoring and a restriction in career progression.

One participant who was an Inspector spoke about obtaining a diagnosis of PTSD, but not being believed by their supervisor (Chief Inspector). The senior officer requested the diagnosis in writing, and then placed the officer on unsatisfactory attendance, though they had not been sick for the previous two years. Again, this put an exceptional amount of stress on the officer, exacerbating their illness the next day, which again elicited a somewhat depersonalised response:

> 'I can't feel my face, I haven't slept all night, I feel like someone has put a rope around my chest and is pulling tight on it, I can't feel my hands and she just went "well it is your choice to be at work" and she sent me an email effectively confirming our conversation.'

The affect that this response has not only sent a clear signal to the individual that their mental health is an inconvenience when it impacts the work place, but also that any emotional expression or mental distress is unacceptable at any level. Indeed, the same participant expressed both the pressure as a supervisor themselves not to express emotions and show weakness, but conversely demonstrates a judgemental attitude to open emotional display:

> 'If I walked in the office crying or being all pathetic…people are going to lose confidence in me as a leader…oh god get a grip…
>
> '…I would probably think that they are quite weak if they showed vulnerable emotions...'

This really highlights how officers become not just victims to a culture of judgement and emotional suppression, but how through the pressure placed upon them they also perpetuate the culture throughout the organisation. This develops the findings

of Phase Two of this study Category Two: 5.3.4 How Feeling Rules are Communicated and Enforced, where officers receive rule reminders from colleagues and senior officers who are dismissive of officers' emotional experiences. Here it is seen how senior officers, though suffering themselves at the hands of uncompassionate leaders, also go on to display the same behaviour and provide rule reminders for their officers.

One participant took this further and educated his daughter about emotional suppression, this is despite earlier advocation for the need for emotional expression:

> 'I said that I wear various masks all of the time, and yeah, when I am at work I have my work mask, which is consistent: that is what I am and I try not to let it slip at all, which is very much different to who I am when I am on my own, so very much so.'

6.2.2 Serving Officer Superordinate Theme: The Role of the Supervisor.

The Role of the Supervisor (positive and negative) Supervisors can challenge culture by leading the way and expressing their own emotions. They can also value their staff, which humanises officers and strengthens trusting relationships. However, the opposite is the norm. Supervisors are often suffering through their own work and responsibility and view their staff dehumanised resources. They seem burned out and unable to empathise with officer's emotional challenges or needs.	• Pivotal in providing support and giving permission (or orders) to express emotion • Act outside of job remit (go the extra mile to support officers) • Can view officers as resources rather than humans • Supervisors dissociated through work intensification and role expectations

The role of supervisors is seen as a strong influence on individual well-being, with supervisor behaviour towards individual emotional needs and well-being having a significant impact on individual coping. This theme builds on the role of the supervisor expressed in the audio data, where supervisors and senior leaders are key in enforcing the feeling and display rules. However, there is a clear inconsistency of approach and experience, with supervisors suffering with their own pressures and emotional challenges. I have already touched on how supervisors impact officers with mental health illness:

> 'My boss and the way that she treated me made me worse.'

But it was also the same participant who indicated how dissociated they were within their role and how they too continued to depersonalise their staff.

> 'I am not mean, but I am judgemental… if I think it is disproportionate I will probably internally role my eyes and want to get out of the situation.'

One participant spoke about attending a job which was quite traumatic, an individual had been stabbed and the initial responding team had administered first aid, though to no success. Once the victim had been conveyed to hospital, the team were left in situ to scene guard, for the entire shift:

> 'we had been doing first aid on the person that got stabbed and we were covered in his blood and we were left on a crime scene for eight hours. Covered in his blood and no supervisor thought it was a good idea to swap us out… We were watching a guy die and then being left on the crime scene covered in blood.'

This wasn't the only incident that participants described where they had been left on duty covered in victim's blood – senior leaders in the aftermath of a terrorist incident did not acknowledging the physical or emotional needs of staff, who were debriefed whilst still sat in bloodied clothes.

However, there clearly are some supervisors who are able to recognise the signs of distress and feel able to support their staff. This is recognised as pivotal for individual coping, and particularly impactful if the incident occurs at the beginning of an

officers' career, setting them up with better coping mechanisms throughout their life.

One participant who had a healthy attitude to emotional expression, despite recognising the culture of emotional suppression within the organisation, spoke of an incident that occurred when he was a Special Constable (volunteer), waiting to join the regulars Police Service. He had witnessed a male fall out of a window, an incident that was classed as a police contact death. Not only was this a distressing event to witness, but also stressful for the participant who anticipated the attendance of the Independents Office for Police Conduct (IOPC) and the subsequent investigation into his conduct. However, the supervisor on the day supported the participant in a way that enabled them to process their emotions, as well as providing reassurance:

> 'took me into a room and just talked me through it, calmed me down… I don't know if he was supposed to do it that way'.

Participants were clear that supervisor responses differed according to the individual, and that the positive experiences were in the minority. It was often supervisors operating outside the restrictions of the organisation that resulted in the positive experiences. It is if the organisational policy and procedure is set up to disadvantage the individual officer and it is a choice by the supervisor to step outside of these confines to open up about their own emotions and to support their staff:

> 'I have been lucky in my career, I know that, with supervisors who will do that, stay on, and go the extra mile to stop us getting worse, it spiralling.'

With one participant and supervisor taking time to open up about their own experiences in an effort to support their team in the aftermath of a terrorist incident:

> 'don't be afraid to say that you are struggling, because I am… I made sure that they all had occy health (occupational health) referrals, even if they didn't want to go.'

This participant acknowledged that they were acting out of the norm, and that if they hadn't had their own experiences of depression and anxiety, they wouldn't have

supported their team in the same way, and the staff would not have received the psychological interventions that they eventually did.

But this is not considered normal behaviour, and there is an acceptance that for supervisors to progress they need to be emotionally supressed:

> 'Everyone is playing the game… you tell the bosses what they want to hear, you tread all over your team and you don't relay emotions, and you are just a yes man or a yes girl.'

> 'there is too much of saying the right thing at the right time… you hear the rhetoric that comes out of people's mouths and you go – that is not the same person that I used to work with...'

There is also a recognition that supervisors themselves are under additional pressures from their role, not just in terms of work load, but also emotional expectations:

> 'Obviously we get the additional leadership requirements, so my emotions have to be, I would say that whatever the emotion it, it has got to be within a range…'

> 'I tried to talk to my sergeant at the time, who just wasn't interested at all, I don't think that he wasn't interested in the sense of that he didn't care, I just think that he didn't need it in his life, and therefore he just wasn't receptive to it.'

This again corroborates the findings of Phase Two (5.3.2 this study) where participants acknowledged that it would be 'completely alien if you ever spoke to a supervisor for advice or support or help' (Participant 24 Audio Diaries) but goes beyond the experiences recounted within the audio dairies and exposes the officers' interpretation of why supervisors behaviour in the way that they do. A perspective that acknowledges supervisors and senior leaders are just as much subject to the feeling and display rules, as well as perpetuating them.

6.2.3 Serving Officer Superordinate Theme: Dissociation, Depersonalisation and Suppression.

Dissociation, Depersonalisation and Suppression	
Emotional suppression is seen as a requirement of the police role and is equated with professionalism. Officers have no time to process their emotions between jobs. Therefore, they learn to supress their emotions so that they can effectively deal with the expectations of the next member of public who requires them. As a result, officers actively avoid engaging with emotions, this leads to fatigue and an intolerance of others emotional expression. The longer that officers serve the more expressed emotional suppression becomes and officers are not only subject to the feeling rules of the organisation and society, but actively perpetuate them. For this reason and the fear of the consequences, officers never at any stage or within any relationship within their life, fully disclose their feelings.	• Work intensification contributes to intolerance of colleagues MH • Work intensification contributes to dissociation behaviour, and emotional suppression to cope with workload • Work intensification, no time to decompress • Institutionalisation • Public and societal expectations become officer expectations • Never fully disclose, always holding back (fear)

There is a significant amount of emotional suppression experienced by all participants, who expressed supressing their own emotions, and being aware of others doing the same. This was considered as a requirement of being a police

officer, an aspect of the role and a way of coping with the stress and distress of daily work:

> ‘We probably don’t talk about emotion, it is very much that we are the police, you know, that it is all very much, you know, move along nothing to see…’
>
> ‘police officers are seen to be strong and … almost sort of detached from emotion…we need to be detached to be able to deal with stuff and if we take on an emotion, then it could be seen as being either weak or over caring if you like.’

The language used in participants’ dialogue is indicative of dissociate behaviour where individuals detach themselves from their emotional experiences (Lanius et al. 2010; American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

This is something that is perceived through initial training where officers are educated in providing a dispassionate response to incidents, which is seen as a visible aspect of police impartiality and the professional police image:

> ‘it is from training, it is from the outset… we are the police, we are independent, we don’t get involved in the emotions…’
>
> ‘they have been taught a way of how it is supposed to be and how, and whether they are supposed to show emotion, or just try make it roll of their back…’

This echoes the findings of Phase Two (5.4.4) but goes further to explain how the perception of being emotionally involved in a situation could be misconstrued as showing bias – whereas the police are expected to be independent in enforcing the law. However, this results in a dehumanised approach from officers which leaves them feeling alienated from their feelings and the people around them.

This also takes on a social dimension where emotional suppression is reinforced by early team experiences, where emotions are very much absent from conversations and officers seek to fit in and be accepted by their new colleagues. This led to officers taking cues from their peers:

> ‘in my early years there is a lot of stuff that I sort of never disclosed because you don’t, because you are still trying to set your feet and be part of the team and you just get on and do stuff.’
>
> ‘when I first started, I just kind of, I tried to fit in with the team, for one, a lot revolved around at the end of the early turn going to the pub, so there was a lot of drinking… not on an emotional level, on a more superficial level of how you kind of dealt with it… “how are you feeling” it was kind of token, I am asking because I have to.’

This demonstrates how the police macho culture conditions officers through training and socialisation to actively dissociate from their emotions, potentially leading to a generalised dissociative state, where officers are emotionally numbing prior to being exposed to traumatic situations, and well after. Once again potentially contributing to an increase in PTSD symptomology through emotional numbing which is reflective of the clinical symptomology of peri, generalised, and persistent dissociation (Briere et al., 2005; Murray et al., 2002).

There was a real recognition that it was not only the culture of emotional expression and professional requirement for emotional suppression that prevented officers from expressing and processing emotions, but the work intensification particularly experienced in front line roles that reduced the opportunity to express and process emotions:

> ‘Where people’s workloads are so high, yeah it is difficult show care and compassion…’
>
> ‘the response teams, I think that they feel the need to supress or, bypass as many of their emotions as possible, just so that they can cope before getting onto the next one, and the next call…’

This speaks directly to the fourth research question, highlighting how officers use dissociation as a way of coping. However, the below comment shows how this is something that is forced upon officers through the intense demands of the role:

> ‘so response teams because they are understaffed, they, you kind of, you have to be all right, you have to push on to the next one, and the next one to the next one, you don’t have time to sit there and think… you kind of have to just suck it up and move onto the next one, you are like the walking wounded…that eleven hours between shifts goes very quickly and then you are back in and having to do it all over again…’

The analogy of the ‘walking wounded’ indicates that emotions are being experienced by officers, and that the outward display of non-emotional involvement is simply surface acting, and though officers may attempt not to engage with the incidents that they deal with, it is clearly taking its toll. This is symptomatic of Emotional Exhaustion, which may indicate why officers move to Depersonalising the people they work with in an effort to protect themselves from the further emotional exposure (Maslach and Jackson, 1981; Hawkins, 2001; Maslach and Leiter, 2016). This develops the findings of Phase Two (5.4.1 and 5.4.2 of this study) where officers recognise the intensity of their work load, but in the interviews, participants were quicker to make the link between the relentless nature of the role and how damaging this was to their health.

It is not just within the organisation that officers receive the message that they are not to experience or display emotions. There is a clear public expectation as to how officers should respond emotionally to incidents, but also how they should conduct themselves in general:

> ‘Well the public don’t want to see it…I can certainly remember struggling not to cry at a number of dead bodies…’

> ‘I think that feeds into the whole societal ideas of us because people think, well you should be alright fighting these people, it is what you are trained to do.’

> ‘public’s perception of a police officer is quite strange…we shouldn’t be as human as we are, I guess, you know they almost want us to be dehumanised officers.’

Despite the recognition of the pressures that officers are under not to express emotion, and the impact that this has on their mental well-being, there is still an intolerance of mental ill-health of other officers:

> 'oh they can't be that bad, because my work load is as twice as bad and I didn't go off'

> 'he has gone off with PTSD from a job that he dealt with years ago… he has got depression but the response from the people that he works with has been, really disrespectful…'

Which clearly indicates an ongoing stigmatisation of mental health and emotional expression. Again, emotional expression is seen as a weakness, to the point that officers almost seem surprised and a little confused as to how emotions such as fear are never acknowledged, despite the situations that officers face. This can be quite isolating for officers as they are left to experience emotions on their own and to question the rationality of their own emotional responses:

> 'no one ever tells you that actually… it is completely normal to be scared…it is a kind of pride thing.'

Although officers clearly perceive that they are not to express or display their emotions, there is clearly still a need for some sort of release. One way that officers achieve this is through humour, where officers supress their emotions, either depersonalising individuals, situations or just a way of avoidance.

> 'he just started to make silly jokes about the dead bloke… probably diverted me from thinking about the situation.'

> 'we will discuss things but more in a humorous way I guess, rather than an emotional way, sort of is easier to discuss that, sort of traumatic incident with the use of humour to release it rather than maybe more emotionally in-depth.'

> 'dark humour…people use it as a way of just shutting off their emotions.'

Always putting others before themselves, officers also supress their emotions with friends and family. Although they know that their loved one's care for them, it is this very reason that officers choose not to be fully open about their experiences and emotional responses. Officers argue that they want to protect their loved ones from the harsh reality of life as a police officer, choosing to refrain from either discussing work at all, or sanitizing events so as not to worry or distress their families and friends. There is almost an element of othering where officers see families as *not police* and therefore to be protected from the harsher realities of police work. Even friends will only get 'the headlines' when asking about an officer's work. However, reflecting the perspective of participants in Phase Two (5.3.2 of this study) this is also through the belief that people don't want to know the details of police work:

> 'people don't want to hear it, they don't want to know.'
>
> 'emotional stuff I sort of try to keep separate from home.'
>
> 'some stuff I don't, just because she doesn't need to know.'
>
> 'I could talk about it at home with *partner* but even then I was kind of holding back a little bit because I didn't want to cause her any more upset, so then I didn't have an outlet I suppose.'

Another strategy used by officers is to display fake emotions; surface acting. Though this is not employed as often as emotional avoidance, it is still another aspect of emotional manipulation that officers engage in as a requirement of the feeling rules of the organisation, whether this be to fit in with their peers, or to supress an unwanted emotion. There appears to be an added element of effort required to express contrary emotions when supressing distress, but officers are clear that they do not want to stand out from their peers:

> 'I think historically I probably would have, just to be part of the team and not to be seen as different…'
>
> 'I will often hide anger… I try and display calm.'

Throughout the interviews serving officers regularly articulated dissociative behaviour. Even those that began the interview claiming that they were very open

about their emotions and emotional engagement, went onto articulate using dissociation as a coping mechanism, either to deal with particularly distressing events or a relentless workload that doesn't provide the opportunity to identify and process emotions (Aaron, 2000). The language used by participants when exploring dissociation in the interviews was very typical of the symptomology described in the dissociative literature (Bernstein and Putnam, 1986; Lanius et al., 2010; American Psychiatric Association, 2013):

> 'dissociation, I think that is for a lot of the time, for me anyway, it is a conscious choice, so when I go to scenes or anything like that, if it is particularly bad, I will try and not…, switch off that bit of my brain…'

However, dissociation is clearly an outcome of mental distress and ill-health associated with the work that the officers have experienced, within a culture of emotional suppression. Officers articulated derealisation, depersonalisation, desensitisation and emotional numbing, again reflecting the symptomology described in the DSM V 'I know I have feelings but I don't feel them' (American Psychiatric Association, 2013):

> 'I probably don't recognise the right emotion.'
>
> 'It was not being in myself, viewing things from a different angle, I didn't like that at all.'
>
> 'Often, I don't sleep very well, I end up, I can sit awake at night, I don't talk very often…I just shut down or don't talk at all, just sit in a corner…'
>
> 'to be fair, there are not that many incidents that sort of rock me emotionally that much, I think that just where I have become hardened to stuff.'
>
> 'I didn't discuss things at home either, just because there was so much going on, it was easier to just put it in a box at the end of the day... but yeah, there are sort of some incidents that I remember to this day that I deal with like twenty thirty years ago… which is just sort of stuck in my mind.'

6.3 Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Ex-Officers.

The second group of participants interviewed were ex-officers. The first thing that became apparent was that they had all suffered with mental ill-health, bar one. Two had medically retired with PTSD or Depression and Anxiety, three had completed their time, but one had taken time off for depression, and one was diagnosed with PTSD six months after retirement. One took medical retirement through an existing physical injury, as a way out rather than disclosing their mental ill-health, which they had diagnosed as PTSD once they had left the organisation. This group of participants provide a unique contribution and opportunity that is not often obtained as an aspect of research into policing. The very different ways that each participant took in dealing with their mental health within the organisation brings an interesting addition to this study, where they show that they did not feel able to access traditional support mechanisms due to the culture within the police, which also demonstrates the freedom that they feel that they now have to speak openly about their experiences, now that they are out of the organisation. This group of participants also bring the benefit of directly linking their emotional experiences within the organisation to their personal psychological outcomes, which is something that this study cannot otherwise claim as it does not use traditional quantitative measures of psychological health, albeit an inference can be drawn from the narrative obtained.

Fig. 6 The Suffocating Web of Emotional Labour: Ex-Officers

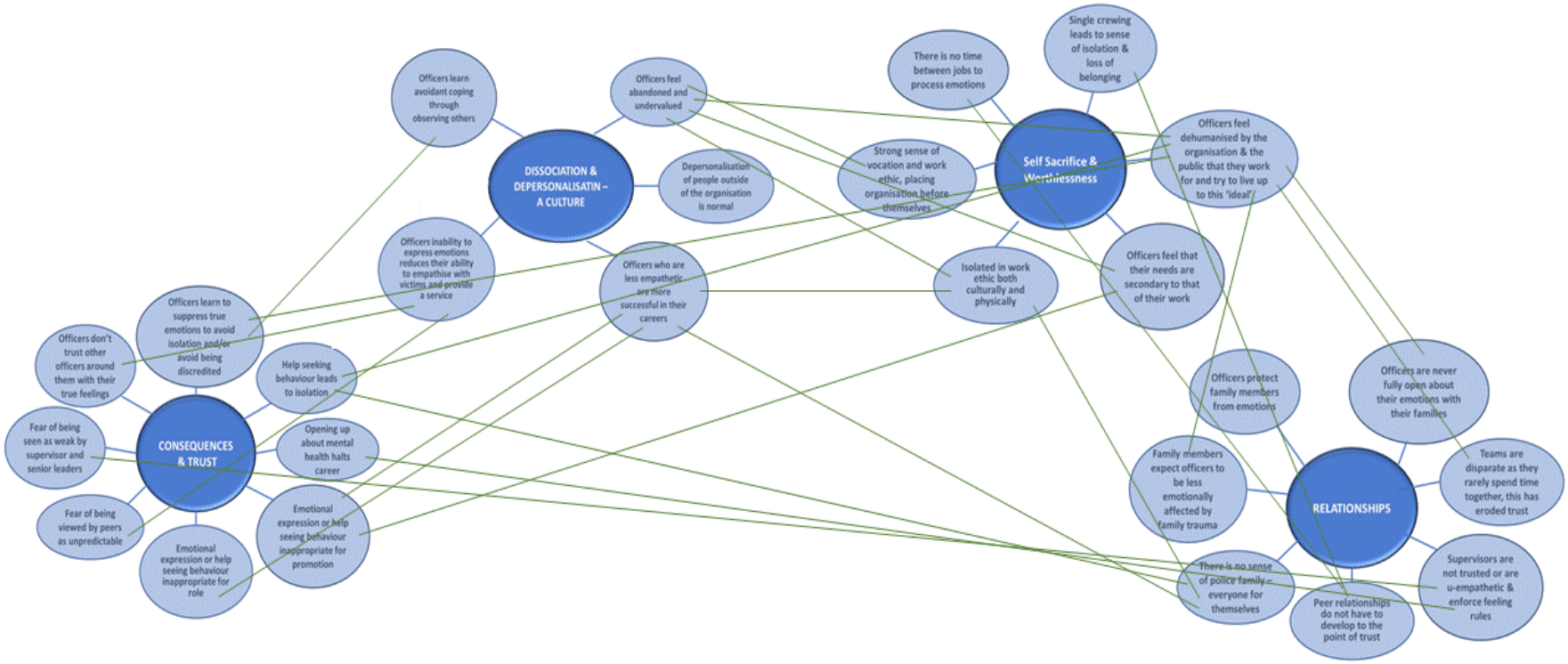


Table Five: Superordinate and Subordinate Themes of Ex-Officers.

SUPERORDINATE	SUBORDINATE
Consequences & Trust: Participants expressed their belief that there were clear personal and organisational consequences to expressing emotion and seeking support. This led to participants not trusting their peers, supervisors or senior command. In response participants articulated learning to supress their authentic emotions. Although this was to avoid isolation this led to a sense of isolation and inauthenticity.	• Fear of being seen as weak by supervisors and senior leaders • Being viewed by peers as unpredictable and unreliable • Expressing distress or seeking support signals inappropriateness for role • Expressing distress or seeking support signals inappropriateness for promotion • Opening up about mental ill-health halts career • Help seeking behaviour leads to isolation • Officers do not trust other officers around them with their true feelings • Officers learn to supress true emotions to avoid isolation and/or being discredited
Self-Sacrifice and Worthlessness: Participants demonstrated a distinctly high work ethic, citing a strong sense of duty and exceptional attention to detail. Alongside this they experienced a lack of organisational justice, where they felt that they worked more hours, and to a higher standard than any of their peers. This led them to being physically isolated (through longs hours alone in the office, and less time at home) and emotionally isolated as they felt different from others and misunderstood. However, they also felt that this work was expected of them and that their needs (emotionally and physically) were secondary to the job at hand. Participants also talked about a relentless nature of work where there was no respite. Due to austerity cuts and a significant loss of front-line officers' measures were taken that have led to an increase in officer isolation.	• Strong sense of vocation and high work ethic, placing organisation before themselves • Isolated in their work ethic, physically and culturally • Officers feel their needs are secondary to that of the organisation/investigation/public • The public believe that officers lives are secondary to their work • Officers feel dehumanised by the organisation and the public they work for – and try to live up to this 'ideal' • There is no time between jobs to process emotions • Single crewing increases sense of isolation and loss of belonging

SUPERORDINATE	SUBORDINATE
Relationships: Due to the fear of judgement, trust is something that needs to be built up over time, however, this does not occur due to the lack of time that teams and peers spend together. Due to the intensity of the work load, every officer is experiencing their own challenges and unable to engage with the others. Supervisors are recognised as suffering their own pressures and are also vulnerable to mental ill-health whilst responsible for that of others. Outside of the organisation family members expected officers to be less emotionally affected by events, and this is compounded by officers continuing to supress their emotions to protect their loved ones. Even at home they are isolated.	• There is no sense of police family – everyone for themselves • Peer relationships do not have time to develop to point of trust due to lack of time together • Supervisors are not trusted or are unempathetic and enforce feeling rules of emotional suppression • Teams are disparate as they rarely spend time together, this has eroded trust • Family members expect officers to be less emotionally affected by family events • Officers protect family members from the emotional aspects of work • Officers are never truly open about their emotions with their family
Dissociation and Depersonalisation – a culture: The organisational culture requires officers to supress their emotions which leaves them feeling unable to carry out their work to their full ability, which is distressing. They feel disadvantaged by their empathy and see other, less compassionate officers as able to succeed in the organisation which requires a dispassionate attitude towards distressing work. Though it is isolating, officers learn to supress their emotions, first through faking lack of concern, until they are unable to engage with expected emotions.	• Officers feel that their inability to show emotions reduces ability to openly empathise with victims and provide the service they believe is appropriate • Officer who are less empathetic are more successful in their careers • Depersonalisation of people outside of the organisation is the norm and expected as a sign of belonging: 'them and us' • Officers learn avoidant coping through observing others (learned dissociation) • Officers feel abandoned and unvalued by the job

6.3.1 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme Consequences and Trust.

Consequences & Trust: Participants expressed their belief that there were clear personal and organisational consequences to expressing emotion and seeking support. This led to participants not trusting their peers, supervisors or senior command. In response participants articulated learning to supress their authentic emotions. Although this was to avoid isolation it led to a sense of isolation and inauthenticity.	• Fear of being seen as weak by supervisors and senior leaders • Being viewed by peers as unpredictable and unreliable • Expressing distress or seeking support signals inappropriateness for role • Expressing distress or seeking support signals inappropriateness for promotion • Opening up about mental ill-health halts career • Help seeking behaviour leads to isolation • Officers do not trust other officers around them with their true feelings • Officers learn to supress true emotions to avoid isolation and/or being discredited

Again, Consequences and Trust appears as a theme, but this is much stronger in the interviews with the ex-officers than with the serving officers, where it appears as a subtheme to the superordinate theme: Discrepancy Between Rhetoric and Reality. Though this maybe because for some ex-officers the consequences were career ending and ex-officers often felt abandoned and let down by the organisation which they no longer had contact with.

> 'I have just been chewed up and spat out… my health is knackered and it is all thanks to the job and they have just left me to rot...'

It was clear to ex-officers that opening up about their mental distress, or seeking support in their role was viewed as a weakness and it was only at the point of being 'over the edge' that any help would be forth coming, and then this would more likely see officers isolated and removed from their team and roles as a consequence. There was a strong sense that seeking out any form of emotional support was not tolerated,

and officers who did seek out help or acknowledged their mental distress were seen as unfit for their role, and a hindrance to the organisation. Indeed, ex-officers expressed themselves as if they were an expendable resource to be almost consumed by the needs of the organisation:

> 'we will have your foot tomorrow, because we have had your leg.'

…and once they were suffering, or expressed any need for help they were no longer of use, or worse still, presented a risk and a burden to an already overly stretched organisation:

> 'There has always been an organisational attitude that… people who have issues with mental health that perhaps they were more of a risk.'

This perspective of an expendable resource was experienced by one ex-officer who did seek help from their supervisor when they initially recognised that they were struggling, unfortunately the supervisor appeared to be out of their depth and almost ignored the matter:

> 'Once I came truthful about my problems there was still no help there, it was like – oh well, but you still need to do this.'

Unable to continue, the officer drove themselves home, returning six weeks later to be placed in a desk role. Still there was no support forthcoming and the nature of the new role further increasing their sense of isolation. Eventually they were retired out of the organisation with work related chronic PTSD. There is a sense from this officer that this could have been prevented with earlier support and targeted treatment.

This last anecdote from this participant highlights the benefit of having ex-officers within this study. Through this participant's eyes I can see how emotional suppression, through to mental illness and subsequent help seeking is dealt with by the organisation, and how this very behaviour may likely be contributing to mental ill-health sickness, and the loss of officers out of the organisation.

It almost seems as if the organisation doesn't see the value in trying to support officers through any mental health struggles that they may have. Ex-officers talk

about a 'suck it up' attitude where peers, supervisors and the larger organisation were not interested in the needs of the individual. Something that is raised by serving officers when highlighting how the organisation treated officers experiencing mental ill-health. Ex-officers also expressed an almost silencing stigma around emotional expression that stemmed from an attitude of distrust around those that expressed any emotional response. One officer who was removed off his team felt that he was being set aside as different – 'I don't want to be the weird one.' Ex-officers felt that not only did their supervisors view them as weak and unfit for the role, their colleagues viewed them as unpredictable. This led to further isolation as peers avoided working with officers who had discussed their personal emotions:

> 'I think that anyone showing any sort of emotions is a danger to them…you can't be trusted… you might do something different.'

Officers felt increasingly isolated when they expressed any emotional response or mental ill-health. They were literally avoided, either by peers or by their senior officers, increasing the sense of abandonment and worthlessness:

> 'it was like I didn't exist anymore.'

> '(My Inspector) he walked past us and I looked at him and waved and he just completely blanked me.'

This belief that ex-officers were worthless to the job was also reinforced by the career consequences to help seeking behaviour or expressing distress. Like the serving officers, ex-officers recounted circumstances where they had lost their role, lost their 'ticket' (authority to carry a firearm, or command an incident etc.) or been prevented from entering the promotion process. One officer recounted how their ex-wife had been prevented from applying for a fire arms post due to a period of post-natal depression, 18 years previous. Indeed, responses were punitive and seemed more about protecting the job from any risk that the officer might present, rather than supporting the officer to better health:

> 'You can't be honest here, because it will just wreck your career...'

> 'You have to suppress it to survive.'

> ‘these things are taken as a sign that you are not coping... I was worried that people would think that I couldn’t do my job.’

In response ex-officers spoke of learning to supress or hide their emotions: ‘I didn’t want to be looked at as a fool.’ An ex-officer spoke about how difficult and uncomfortable it was to ‘numb’ themselves and recognised how it managed to spill into private lives, affecting how they responded to people and events within their family or social lives. In essence, this was a form of avoidant coping – learnt and reinforced through the police organisational feeling and display rules:

> ‘…so trying to turn myself into that numb person… you are just numb…and then it goes home with you… an it is only just now, even with the kids… you start to realise – oh that emotion is back...’

> ‘I learned how to better suppress the heart on the sleeve side of things.’

> ‘They look at their colleagues I think and think – oh well, they are coping, so I should be.’

This is a clear articulation of officers engaging in dissociative behaviour as a way to protect themselves from the organisation and the consequences for their career. Ex-officers are able to develop this depth of understanding as established within Phase Two of this study, specifically 5.3.2 ‘Feeling and Display Rules: Emotions as a sign of Incompetence’ and 5.3.7 ‘How feeling and display rules are communicated through sanctions’. Here we can see how fears articulated by participants in Phase Two are borne out by participants in Phase Three, supporting the belief that there are consequences to emotional suppression. This takes forward the conceptual contribution of Phase Two to understanding how officers’ perceptions of feeling and display rules are acted out in lived experience.

As a result, there is a significant loss of trust in both the organisation and individuals, as what Participant 4 in Phase Two (5.3.7 this study) described as a veiled threat, comes to fruition. This also demonstrates how the inclusion of ex police officers as participants within this study brings a real insight into the consequences of engaging with emotional labour and the link between psychological ill health. Whether it is

trusting supervisors as to how they will respond to help seeking, trusting that the organisation won't stifle your career, or trusting that an individual entrusted with your wellbeing genuinely cares about you and your welfare. Naturally police officers are distrusting, the nature of their work requires it, but a culture of fear, distrust and isolation pervades organisational relationships:

> 'and even if it is there, you have got to trust the person giving the support wants to do it, is capable of doing it, is in the right mood that day.'

> 'I do not believe that the culture exists, they put the policies in, but they do not believe in them.'

> 'The trouble with counselling it is that it is connected to the organisation and you never ever truly trust the independence of the counsellor.'

> 'It depends who you are with, you have got to know your audience.'

This is a particularly unique contribution that ex-officers bring to this study – truly able to express what the consequences can be to emotional expression and help seeking, further highlighting how feeling and display rules are communicated and enforced. This is also an important finding when taken in light of research conducted by Adams and Buck (2010) who found that stress experienced from insiders was as strong as stress experienced from outsiders – which is particularly notable when considering the stressful nature of events where officer engage with those outside of the organisation.

6.3.2 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme: Self-Sacrifice and Worthlessness.

Self-Sacrifice and Worthlessness: Participants demonstrated a distinctly high work ethic, citing a strong sense of duty and exceptional attention to detail. Alongside this they experienced a lack of organisational justice, where they felt that they worked more hours, and to a higher standard than any of their peers. This led them to being physically isolated (through longs hours alone in the office, and less time at home) and emotionally isolated as they felt different from others and misunderstood. However, they also felt that this work was expected of them and that their needs (emotionally and physically) were secondary to the job at hand. Participants also talked about a relentless nature of work where there was no respite. Due to austerity cuts and a significant loss of front-line officers' measures were taken that have led to an increase in officer isolation.	• Strong sense of vocation and high work ethic, placing organisation before themselves • Isolated in their work ethic, physically and culturally • Officers feel their needs are secondary to that of the organisation/investigation/public • The public believe that officers lives are secondary to their work • Officers feel dehumanised by the organisation and the public they work for – and try to live up to this 'ideal' • There is no time between jobs to process emotions • Single crewing increases sense of isolation and loss of belonging

There is a strong work ethic within the interviews with the ex-officers. They talk of police work as a vocation, of a love for the job that they had, and for a love and desire to help others. This leads officers to put themselves before others continuously. Indeed, they often feel that their needs are secondary to that of the organisation, often staying long hours, giving extra commitment and time outside of their standard role, and delivering and excellent service to victims, despite their own mental health struggles. They are often representatives for the Police Federation or do extra work in their community, working with victims. Often there is a sense of responsibility that well exceeds the limitations of their roles and capabilities:

‘it takes a massive chunk out of you, but you don’t realise it at the time, you do it because it is the right thing.’

‘Pretty much every shift I would come home and just constantly worrying and thinking about the thing and I ended up having nightmares…’

‘it is the injustice of it, we all joined the job for justice, I joined because I wanted to help people… and no matter what you do or you did, it I is – oh no, we will have your foot tomorrow, because we have had your leg. It is just awful and there is no justice…’

Sadly, officers recognise that they are ‘going the extra mile’ and that this is eroding their health:

‘I have always got on with things and that is partly why we have come to where we are now, because people who don’t do things never seem to have mental health problems.’

‘I was not well for a long time, but you don’t do anything about it.’

‘the isolation aspect was becoming more and more part of my life…’

Ex-officers feel that this view of officers being ‘less than human’, and secondary to the organisation and the role of the police officer, is perpetuated by the public and the organisation. This is a similar view to the serving officers in the superordinate theme; Discrepancy Between Rhetoric and Reality and builds on the findings of Phase Two where officers articulate how the feel that they need to be robotic in behaviour in response to feeling and display rules that state that emotions are a weakness (5.3.1 this study). The media is seen to play a huge part in this, with complaints about being outed for eating in public repeated. There is a real sense of pain as to how they are treated within the press, and how this influences the public:

‘you hear about people complaining about police officers eating…they are not thinking that there is a person there, there is not emotion, it is just a uniform, you are just a badge to go and stand somewhere.’

‘you are expected to be a bit robotic.’

‘there is still a perception that we are superhuman, and that we are not people, and that when they see an emotional response it is quite hard to reconcile that.’

AA11: SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY (APPENDIX A: AUTHOR’S REFLEXIVE DIARY) REFLECTING ON THE ABOVE QUOTES AND CONVERSATIONS THAT I HAVE HAD WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN RELATION TO THE MEDIA, GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY.

This reinforces the findings of Phase Two (5.3.1 this study) in building upon the work of Pogrebin and Poole (1991), Daus and Brown (2012), Bakker and Heuven (2006), and Aaron (2000) in that officers are depersonalising or dissociating as a way of coping but also in compliance with the feeling and display rules. There is a stark contrast as to how officers are dealt with when they are suffering as to how officers are expected to deal with members of the public:

> If someone was bawling out their emotions in a living room because they had been raped, they would talk to them… so why when a police officer has a problem do they just go – right, paper work out…’

This formal approach taken to dealing with officers who are suffering with mental ill-health is reflective of serving offices’ experiences in superordinate theme; Discrepancy between Rhetoric and Reality, where officers’ experience a policy and performance approach to mental ill-health support.

Over the years, whether through increased reporting or reduction in staff numbers due to austerity, police work has intensified. This has led to a change of policy to a default position of single crewing vehicles. This has increased the sense of isolation of officers as they spend the majority of their day on their own, perhaps spending half an hour in the station at the beginning of a shift before responding to the radio.

This and the intensity of demand placed upon officers dispatched to a relentless number of jobs significantly reduces, if not entirely removes, officer's opportunity to express and process their emotional responses:

> 'You could be really, really struggling with a four handed RTC and there is nothing there, you are just expected to get on with it, you have left the job, told dispatch that you have gone… and you are ready for the next job and it is right, can you go to this shoplifter detained, it is like yesterday's newspaper, it is just gone, it is weird, and these are the type of things that stay with you.'

And after delivering death messages:

> '…you do what you have to do, you go out to the car and if you are single crewed, I sat there at times and think – oh dear lord. And then the radio goes and you are off on your next job again, so you file that away and you get on with it…'

> 'I have got back into my patrol car and drive off and had to stop and probably choke back the tears, and I have managed to keep them in check.'

> 'the culture is still very much there where the young officers coming through the systems there is still very much this suck it up attitude…'

These are experiences which echoes that of the serving officers, who spoke of actively supressing and avoiding emotions to get through a relentless workload (Superordinate Theme: Dissociation, Depersonalisation and Suppression). This also reflects the narrative in Phase Two (5.4.2 of this study), however, participants in this section of the study are able to more openly express their emotions, perhaps in acknowledging that there might have been tears, or that they were impacted by incidents whilst dealing with them, whereas serving officers and officers within Phase Two are less likely to identify emotional responses, but more likely to articulate the absence of emotional expression. There certainly appears to be a greater level of emotional honesty with participants no longer in service.

6.3.3 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme: Relationships.

Relationships: Due to the fear of judgement, trust is something that needs to be built open over time, however, this does not occur due to the lack of time that teams and peers spend together. Due to the intensity of the work load, every officer is experiencing their own challenges and unable to engage with the others. Supervisors are recognised as suffering their own pressures and are also vulnerable to mental ill-health whilst responsible for that of others. Outside of the organisation family members expected officers to be less emotionally affected by events, and this is compounded by officers continuing to supress their emotions to protect their loved ones. Even at home they are isolated.	• There is no sense of police family – everyone for themselves • Peer relationships do not have time to develop to point of trust due to lack of time together • Supervisors are not trusted or are un-empathetic and enforce feeling rules of emotional suppression • Teams are disparate as they rarely spend time together, this has eroded trust • Family members expect officers to be less emotionally affected by family events • Officers protect family members from the emotional aspects of work • Officers are never truly open about their emotions with their family

The lack of trust between peers and with supervision and senior officers, and the subsequent consequences to help seeking or emotional expression has significantly eroded relationships within the organisation. Officers are feeling increasingly isolated through lone working and work intensification, not feeling like they belong, and carrying the need to be strong for others. This has led to an increase in emotional suppression either through lack of opportunity or implication that officer needs are not a priority. Ex-officers articulated a loss of team and recognise the need to be with a colleague for some time before they can develop a strong enough relationship to trust them. This loss of trust brings a different angle to the consequences to the feeling and display rules, where authenticity is rare, articulating not only a splitting off from emotions, as articulated by other serving participants, but also a splitting off from the self as articulated in the DSM V (American Psychiatric Association, 2013).

'you have got to build trust haven't you, a lot of it is about personal relationships.'

'that was one of the biggest distances, the trust and the colleagues that you had on the shift, it changed the anxiety levels massively…'

'I had one supervisor who I wouldn't tell anything to because I wouldn't trust him as far as I could throw him. Unless there is someone that I really trusted I always felt quite uncomfortable about telling them how I was feeling'

From initial training to the loss of canteens and police bars, there have been physical changes to the running of the police service that have added to this loss of family and belonging that once underpinned the service and an officers' support network:

'You have seen it sort of dismantled as well of any sort of, sense of corps belonging with the closure of police training schools…you felt that you were a collective part of something… there was a community of purpose...'

'people didn't live in little communities and they didn't go to the pub and those sorts of things and a lot of that was taken from underneath you.'

'There is not that sort of environment, that sort of safe decompression environment where people who serve and work together can actually go and relax together and actually informally debrief…'

And there is the added pressure of feeling like they are being inauthentic and unable to express their true selves:

'yeah, you can't be yourself… it is a lonely place to be, it is a very lonely place to be.'

'If you are somebody who is quite overtly emotional and tends to wear your heart on your sleeves, you make the tactical mistake of actually unloading to the wrong person and if you do, you have had it.

'there is that whole element of trust, you are worrying about who you are letting in, who you are showing it to.'

Despite the belief that an officer will benefit from being sent home after a traumatic incident, as the serving officers expressed in Superordinate Theme; Dissociation, Depersonalisation and Suppression, it is often that officers will continue their emotional suppression with their loved ones. Families are seen to be as much members of the public who need to be protected from the realities of policing, but also from the burden of worrying about their loved ones (officers):

> 'I don't want to come home and tell my wife about the gruesome things that I have been involved in, seen or done.'

> 'you don't want to burden your family members with your feelings.'

This leads to an increase in distance between an officer and their family, leading to the eventual isolation of the officer in the home, and the potential damage or breakdown to family relationships.

> 'If we were in a time machine… I would try perhaps to be a little bit more inclusive and more conscious of the effect that my job had on the family.'

> 'I didn't want to burden her with all that shit… you can see why an awful lot of marriages go down the tubes in the cops because they don't want to burden somebody else with that.'

And it is noted that this erosion of networks and police communities also means that families don't have places to go for support, unlike other organisation such as the armed services:

> 'there is not that cultural connection, because it isn't a family.'

Possibly as a result of officers' reticence to open up to their families, or perhaps because families too are members of the public and subjected to the same media and social influences, families often expected officers to cope better emotionally with family trauma and challenges:

> 'we did have a death in the family recently… it is very true that there is an expectation because of what you used to do for a living that you are going to be that stoic type figure.'

And a lot of times officers live up to this expectation:

> 'I find myself thinking I know that my reactions are not normal… even as my dad died… I just end up switching into police mode and just get on with it…'

6.3.4 Ex-Officer Superordinate Theme: Dissociation and Depersonalisation – a culture.

Dissociation and Depersonalisation – a culture: The organisational culture requires officers to supress their emotions which leaves them feeling unable to carry out their work to their full ability, which is distressing. They feel disadvantaged by their empathy and see other, less compassionate officers as able to succeed in the organisation which requires a dispassionate attitude towards distressing work. Though it is isolating officers learn to supress their emotions, first through faking lack of concern, until they are unable to engage with expected emotions.	• Officers feel that their inability to show emotions reduces ability to openly empathise with victims and provide the service they believe is appropriate • Officer who are less empathetic are more successful in their careers • Depersonalisation of people outside of the organisation is the norm and expected as a sign of belonging: 'them and us' • Officers learn avoidant coping through observing others (learned dissociation) • Officers feel abandoned and unvalued by the job

As identified throughout this chapter, there is significant stigma around emotional expression within the police service – even if this is not expressing mental ill-health or distress. This has led to both groups articulating high levels of dissociation, depersonalisation and emotional suppression, and therefore both groups have Superordinate Themes examining dissociation and depersonalisation. Even empathy is restricted to stoicism and a professional cold front. For those officers' sense of compassion, supressing a natural desire to reach out to others in distress can be, in turn, significantly distressing for them. For one ex-officer that was supporting a rape victim they felt that they were actively prevented from supporting the victim by supervisors and an inflexible application of policy. The subsequent response of trying to deal with the victim in a more human way led them to feel vulnerable to criticism, but also guilty for the way that they were restricted in helping further:

> ‘I wasn’t allowed to use my emotions at any point… Me trying to bring my emotions into that was just a complete no, we don’t do this, it is just a no go, this is what the paper work says, so this is how we deal with it… that is so hard for someone who is quite emotional with the work and wants to help someone and you can’t bring it in’

There is a significant emotional complexity here that must be challenging for officers to navigate, particularly when they are unable to discuss their emotional responses. What is different is that the participant actively attempts to challenge the system and take an emotional approach to supporting the victim. Although they were thwarted in their attempts and this left them in a vulnerable position, they did openly express a desire to be more empathetic, which officers in Phase Two of this study, and in the first half of Phase Three, would not have attempted.

It isn’t just policy and procedure that restrict officers’ ability to acknowledge and act on their emotions, the relentless nature of the work eventually causes officers to disassociate from their emotions:

> ‘you get that constant, constant flow where eventually the job actually desensitises you itself, it unintentionally desensitises you, you can’t cope otherwise…I lost the ability to feel emotions for years.’

> ‘the best way not to struggle with it was to try and push it away…’

This, officers believed, was exactly what was expected of them by the organisation, the media and the wider public, and was often learnt through observing and engaging in the behaviour around them:

> ‘I had lost my ability to be scared, I used to go gung-ho into situations, okay I came out unscathed, but I had this *no fear*, which suited the job.’

> ‘you laugh at things that aren’t really very funny, everybody just gets on with it.’

Indeed, officers learnt that some emotions were more acceptable than others, and became adept at displaying the required emotions, again another example of the use of surface acting:

> ‘when you are worried and scared and stuff then you would have to try and figure that out, and if it was, because of violence or whatever… rather than scared if you show anger you know wouldn’t you.’

This emotional suppression clearly took its toll, with ex-officers articulating a number of dissociative symptoms:

> ‘there is a lot of feeling of numbness, just nothing there at times, just nothing.’

> ‘I would try and think – how can I stop myself from feeling so anxious and bad about it… so you are trying to turn yourself into a numb thing for that period.’

> ‘you become two people, you become that policeman on duty whose job is to do what he is being paid for, and then the second person is the man that goes home to wife and kids, and you know the wife says to the husband – how was the shift? It was fine, usual garbage but it was fine. What he doesn’t say is that there was a five-car collision the driver was drunk…’

Which spills out into the family domain:

> ‘my old man died… buried him on the Saturday, back at my desk the Monday morning… I’ve now started having dreams about my dad…’

When officers do realise that they have become ill they have felt abandoned by the organisation, often increasing the sense of isolation, and sending a clear message to other officers who may be in similar positions.

> ‘I never got any help in the ten months I was off sick, I didn’t get anything, I didn’t get any phone calls… It has left me a shadow of my former self, because, I don’t know what the hell to do next.’

6.4 Summary.

The research questions answered within this chapter are:

Research Question 1.

How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers?

Research Question 2.

To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

Research Question 3.

How do these rules contribute to police officer psychological health?

Research Question 4.

To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms?

Below is a summary of the findings for this chapter:

Serving Officers:

Discrepancy between Rhetoric and Reality: Mental Health and Wellbeing is part of policing agenda but in reality, this is not supported by the organisation and there are consequences to emotional expression.

The Role of the Supervisor (positive and negative): Go outside policy and procedure to support officers, dissociated through their own work and view officers as resources.

Dissociation, Depersonalisation and Suppression: Work intensification creates need for dissociative behaviour as coping. Officers never express emotions as expectation of society and organisation.

Ex-officers:

Consequences and Trust: Clear consequences to emotional expression, being seen as weak, unpredictable and unreliable. Career limiting and isolating. Officers do not trust the people around them and learn to suppress their emotions.

Self-Sacrifice and Worthlessness: Strong sense of vocation, high work ethic and placing the investigation and public before their own wellbeing. This behaviour is supported by public expectations, as offices feel dehumanised by the public. Relentless nature of work means there is no time to process emotions and single crewing increases sense of isolation.

Relationships: Relationships do not develop to the point of trust as teams do not spend time together. There is no longer a sense of police family. Supervisors are not to be trusted with authentic emotions. Families and friends expect officers to be less emotionally affected by distressing events.

Dissociation and Depersonalisation: The requirement to suppress feelings prevents officers from carrying out their work to the full of their ability. Officers who are less empathetic are more successful. Emotional suppression is isolating, and officers feel unvalued and abandoned by the organisation.

Overview:

- Feeling and Display Rules are communicated through training, observing senior colleagues, and supervisors and senior leaders who do not value officer's wellbeing or mental health.
- The public and the investigation come first, and the public do not expect to see officer emotional display.
- Work intensification prevents time for emotional processing of emotional suppression.
- Officers actively dissociate to comply with feeling rules that require the outward display of calm and control.
- Feeling and Display rules operate within officers' private and social lives.
- Officers believe that they are expected to behave in a robotic manner, not eating, drinking, or feeling.
- Officers become isolated in work and with their families.

Feeling and Display Rules:

- Emotional expression is a sign of weakness and inadequacy for the role of police officer.
- You must display a positive attitude towards mental health and emotional wellbeing whilst feeling unable to express authentic emotions.
- Emotions must be hidden and suppressed.
- Fear cannot be displayed in any environment (public or private).
- Compassion cannot be displayed in front of colleagues.
- The public do not want to see officer emotion, they expect a robotic hypo-emotional service provision, demanding emotional suppression from officers.
- Senior officers enforce rules that prevent emotional expression by not providing officers time and space to process emotions.
- Expressing emotions can lead to career limiting consequences.

- Supervisors – officers' emotional wellbeing is not to be considered when making operational decisions.
- Emotional Suppression is required as a form of coping as there is not time to process emotions between jobs.
- Expressing humour is a way of coping as a form of emotional release and in lieu of stress or distress.
- Feelings are suppressed with families, friends and loved ones, in order to protect them the realities of police work.
- Surface acting calm and control is the overriding expectation, this is done through dissociation and emotional numbing.
- Emotional expression means you are a risk and a burden to the organisation.
- Emotional suppression is a form of survival.
- Emotional suppression is a consequence of trust and the consequences to expressing authentic emotions.
- Emotional suppression is needed with families to protect them from harrowing incidents.
- Compassion needs to be supressed and empathy cannot be shown to victims of crime.
- Dissociation from emotional experiences is a necessity.
- Fear cannot be displayed and is replaced with anger.
- Display of humour at inappropriate situations is acceptable.

In answer to the first research question, the feeling and display seem quite clear from how officers have interpreted their interactions and experiences within the organisation. In general emotions are not tolerated. Indeed, emotional suppression is significant with officers within both groups. Officers are adamant that they do not show fear, and this relates back to emotional expression being related to competence to carry out their role. Officers will surface act anger to substitute fear, and anger is seen as an acceptable emotion. There is a general fear of expressing emotions and the consequences this will bring, particularly in terms of removal from role, a halt in career progression, or isolation from colleagues and supervisors. This is evidenced by the punitive responses received in response to help seeking behaviour expressed in detail by the ex-officers. The loss of trust experienced as a result of the consequences to emotional expression articulated by ex-officers seemed significant in its impact. This also supported the view of participants from Phase Two who anticipated such consequences to emotional expression, and as a

response suppressed their own emotions. The group of ex-officers brought a unique perspective to this study, being able to demonstrate how officers' fear of consequences to emotional expression are borne out in ex-officers' lived experience and being able to relate emotional labour experiences to their own negative psychological outcomes. This is something that is not easily obtained in academic research as there is no network or single access point for ex police officers. Again, potentially a fall out of the culture that does not value human interaction. Reflecting this point, there is a significant lack of compassion displayed to colleagues who suffer with their mental health or express emotions. This then is also reflected in how much compassion and empathy officers feel that they are allowed to display towards members of the public. Officers spoke about not being able to grieve with members of the public who they were supporting through tragic losses, but also being admonished by senior leaders for being emotionally involved. Throughout the interviews with both groups not many emotions were named, possibly a consequence of a culture that does not tolerate emotional expression, or as a result of mental ill-health that can often lead to difficulty in identifying personal emotions. However, ex-officers were more readily able to describe their emotional responses as a result of and during incidents – particularly acknowledging their distress which at the time had to be suppressed.

The requirement to supress emotion was also reinforced through the operational day to day running of the organisation. Work intensification and single crewing led officers to actively dissociate and numb themselves from the feelings that they experienced as a consequence of the jobs they attended. With not enough time provided between calls to process emotions, or for officers to build relationships to the point of mutual trust, officers are significantly isolated physically and emotionally within their work. In turn, this reinforces officer's belief that their well-being is secondary to all other factors.

Speaking to the second research question, this belief that officers must supress their emotions at all times, placing themselves secondary to all others, stretches to within the family home and to relationships with spouses and children. Officers do not wish to burden their families with the traumatic detail of their work – viewing them also

as members of the public who are to be protected from the darker side of life. This is reinforced by the family members themselves, who, whether through observing officers' supressed emotional behaviour, or through exposure to media stereotypes, expect their loved ones to be able to cope with family events in a more dispassionate way. This further builds on the literature of Adams and Buck (2010) who found that feeling and display rules stretched beyond interactions with members of the public but also governed relationships with peers and supervisors. This research takes this point further and demonstrates how there are no emotional or relational spaces in police officers' lives where feeling and display rules don't operate, meaning that there is no place in officers' lives that they can safely express the emotions that they experience in the course of their duty.

This leaves officers in a difficult position. It is clear from these officers' experiences that they use dissociation and depersonalisation as a way of coping not only with the intensity of their work, but with the rules of emotional expression and display. To express emotional distress or to seek help for mental ill-health is viewed as career ending and isolating. To express emotions within the family home would be to burden the very people they most want to protect. Which leaves officers very little opportunity to fully process the daily trauma and distress that they are exposed to, with officers actively dissociating from their emotions in an effort to cope. This leads to an increased sense of worthlessness and isolation, often associated with PTSD. Many of the officers expressed working exceptionally long hours, taking on extra work and feeling that they were the only ones that were left to burden the responsibility, often fuelling their sense of inadequacy and failure as they became overwhelmed with their work.

Chapter Seven: Phase Four - The Sharing: The Reflexive Vignette of the Workshops.

7.1 Introduction.

Bringing to a conclusion the data analysis section, this chapter considers the results of the role play and psychodrama workshops. In total, two single day workshops were held which followed a critical action ethos (Myers, 2013). Both workshops were held in university premises, with the intention being to take the participants outside of their usual organisational setting, with the hope that this would be a less restrictive environment for them emotionally. The first workshop (W1) consisted of serving officers in their second year of a bachelor's degree in policing, the second workshop (W2) drew together officers from within my police network. Each group of participants were presented with the interim findings from the audio diary and serving officer interviews. Participants were then engaged through a number of role plays and collaborated in developing recommendations as to how to address the identified issues. Participants were first familiarised with the theoretical concepts of emotional labour, critical action research and reflective practice. This was done with the intention of empowering the participants and giving them a good understanding as to their role within the research, in line with an action research ethos (Davis, 2012). The role plays and subsequent discussion were underpinned by the principals of psychodrama, to aid the exploration of inner and outer emotional expression and experience (Kellermann, 1992).

Unlike previous chapters, which signposted the reader to relevant sections of the authors reflexive diary, this aspect of analysis will be represented through a reflexive vignette, which will include the voice of the author alongside that of the participants (Langer, 2016). This seemed an appropriate and well-substantiated approach to take alongside a critical action research intent, as the researcher was as much engaged in the generation of data as the participants/co-researchers (Githens, 2015; Langer, 2016).

The primary intent of the workshops was to address the second **Research Aim**:

- To make recommendations for operational and cultural changes which can improve officers' psychological health in relational to emotional expression.

And the fifth **Principle Research Question**:

5. How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health?

However, reflecting on the role plays naturally led to participant discussions on what was preventing emotional expression by police officers, which addressed the second **Principle Research Question**:

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

The data obtained from the workshops is grouped under themes generated on both days. This includes data collected through participant observation, audio and visual recording of role plays and discussions, and participant observer sheets completed by participants. Initially I begin with my and the participants reflections and reflexive responses to the workshops. Next, I work through the themes identified across both of the days arranged under the two headings: **Experience of Emotional Labour** and **Officer Well-Being**. I conclude by addressing the second Research Aim, and present the recommendations as articulated by the participants.

The 'scripts' for the different characters and scenes from the role plays can be found at Appendix G: Role Play Scenarios and Scripts.

7.2 Reflections on, and within, the Workshops.

In this section I will briefly recount my own reflections and those of the participants' responses during the workshop. These are additional and contextual observations to the themes found at **7.3 The Sharing, A Discussion.**

7.2.1 Getting to Know the Study; Getting to Know Each Other.

Throughout both workshops I observed the participants and their engagement with the material, along with each other. In response to the theoretical input and the sharing of the findings, participants shared personal experiences of emotional suppression and articulated their identification of emotional labour in the workplace. One student became tearful as they recounted their experience of fear of injury or even death at work, and subsequently not returning home to their family. Something they stated they felt they could not share within the organisational environment. This was an atypical display of emotion by a police officer in the company of other officers. This recognition of the need to suppress emotions of fear and anxiety within an organisational setting further corroborates participants' expressed experiences within Phase Two and Three of this study. However, participants were also able to express how inappropriate they saw the organisational culture around emotions and some of the behaviours this led to – for example the use of humour and how this lacked compassion for officers that were likely emotionally distressed. It was here that I obtained an insight into how willing participants would be to share their experiences and engage with the research, which was a relief as I had feared that the very emotional silencing aspect of the emotional labour I was looking to study, would play out within the workshop.

I was also taken aback by how quickly the participants began opening up to each other. This was evidenced in the warm up - which required participants to disclose three unusual things about themselves and usually resulted in admissions of minor celebrity appearances or foreign language skills. However, one participant wrote how a year ago he had planned his own suicide. This was very well received by the group who offered their support, shared experience, and asked questions compassionately. This emotional purging and supportive response from the group is exactly what is anticipated from the Sharing aspect of psychodrama (Karp, 2010). It felt to me that the group were acting in a way that I hoped could be established throughout the police service.

7.2.2 Reactions to the Role Play.

The emotions that were most described by participants in the observations of the role plays were anger and frustration, and concern for the protagonist 'Jo' who had attended the scene of the murder and been assaulted trying to detain the murderer. Those who were observing and considering their own feelings had they been in 'Jo's position noted consistently embarrassment and fear and feeling overwhelmed and distressed at the events that they experienced and witnessed. Overall, they described feeling very let down by the organisation and their sergeant, but also that they had let their team and themselves down. The outcome of this was that they felt isolated, undervalued and judged:

> 'you don't care about me... not once did you ask how I am'

For both workshops I asked for the participants' thoughts on the scenarios. Both groups agreed that something similar had either happened to themselves or they were aware of a similar scenario. They agreed that this could be an everyday event, though one participant in the W1 voiced the view:

> 'I would like to think that this wouldn't happen.'

However, another participant wrote on their observer sheet:

> 'Much of what is detailed in this scenario resonates with feelings I have had and struggled with.'

This identification is an anticipated outcome of the psychodrama method where participants are encouraged to see how they identify with the protagonist – normalising their experience through the recognition of the commonality of their experience within the group. This has a therapeutic outcome in helping participants to feel less isolated in their experience, and more comfortable in expressing their own internal emotions (Karp, 2010).

Very quickly the participants began exploring alternate perspectives to their own - when two officers in W1 were allocated the roles of Sgt and Jordan - they commented how this was a reversal of their real-life situations:

> ‘We were just discussing between ourselves that it is a role reversal between us two. ****’s character has got four years’ service, which is similar to mine, and the Sgt has fourteen years’ service, with a little bit less than yours. And it is interesting now that I am now stepping into this person’s shoes and you are stepping down...’
>
> ‘It is interesting for myself to put myself into this four year PC who’s a bit despondent at the moment so, yeah, it is difficult to try and interpret how this person is thinking and feeling, without my own experience and ... yeah.’

This exploration by the participants shows how they are already engaging with the role-reversal principal of psychodrama and how this encourages them to see the experience from others’ eyes (Moreno, 1999; Karp, 2010).

7.3 The Sharing: A Discussion.

For both workshops my intention had been to have two phases of psychodrama; firstly conduct the role plays, following on from this carry out ‘the sharing’ aspect of psychodrama, where discussions are had as to what was experienced within the role plays, how people felt, how emotional experiences were represented (Karp, 2010), and then chair a round table discussion to address the issues identified throughout the day and potential remedies. However, the sharing developed organically into a discussion of what could be done to change the current circumstances being discussed, and the break into the round table discussion - though physically apparent - was not evident in the way that the discussions developed between participants. The participants themselves identified issues and sought solutions. This could be seen as the Critical Action Research intention playing out within the workshops, where participants are empowered to act not only as subjects of the study, but to drive the research, problem identification and solution (Davies, 2012; Myers, 2013). With this in mind, I have not sought to identify a distinct separation between the phases within this written representation. Therefore, I have grouped the discussions into themes developed out of both workshops, which fall under two main headings:

Table Six: Themes – The Sharing, A Discussion.

7.4 Experience of Emotional Labour	• Humour • Supervision • Single Crewing and Peer Support • Micromanagement, Task Orientation and Work Intensification • Being Valued by the Wider Public and Senior Leaders
7.5 Officer Wellbeing	• Welfare Second, Scene Guard First • Debriefing and one to ones • The Police Family • Independent Support • Recruitment and Training • Compassion

7.4 Experience of Emotional Labour.

In this section I review the themes that are related to participants' experience of the emotional labour construct, and in doing so further build on the work within this study that goes towards answering the 2nd **Principal Research Question**:

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

In this section participants reflect on the events in the role plays, the emotions of the actors, and their own feelings towards the situations. Along the way they relate the events to their own experiences and how such situations and behaviours have affected them in their own personal history. This is very typical of behaviour within the Sharing of the Psychodrama technique, which is about opening up about inner

experiences and group support in sharing these experiences (Moreno, 1999; Karp, 2010). Throughout participants' echoed the experiences of participants experiences of emotional labour in Phases One and Two of this study.

7.4.1 Humour.

Humour is dealt with by Pogrebin and Poole in their 1991 study, finding that officers used humour as a way of bonding. In both workshops the role of the 'Night Officer' was singled out for comment very early on in the process. The humour that was used on both days was commented on, creating a lot of laughter in the room. In W1 the actor playing the 'Night Officer' had poked fun at 'Jo' asserting that they would be expected to pay the universally acknowledged police fine of 'cakes' for losing their baton and a prisoner:

> SJL 'Jo - how does that make you feel?'
>
> P (Jo) 'Oh I didn't need that, it was salt in the wound...'

The participants playing 'Jo' found the humour isolating, they were unable to express their own emotions having been in a traumatic situation and were left to suppress their inner thoughts whilst attempting to complete the related paper work and fend off jibes from their team. This goes against the findings of Pogrebin and Poole (1991) that humour is a form of bonding, and it is more likely that officers will attempt to suppress their emotions and continue in a dissociative state post traumatic incident, similar to persistent dissociative behaviour, increasing the likelihood of PTSD outcomes (Briere et al. 2005; Murray et al., 2002).

However, W1 commented that there would likely be a lot more humour used in this situation:

> 'There would be more, stronger in terms of having a laugh - it was cakes, *group laughter* if you have had a crash and bounced the car off a ditch and someone will be like - oh well that's cakes.'

It is concerning that participants stated that they would expect to see a lot more humour and more banter at the expense of the protagonist, despite the

circumstances presented in the role play. This further explores the level of humour that is used within policing circles and further demonstrates why officers can find this level of banter/humour as isolating, as identified in Phase Two (5.3.4 of this study). I was actually surprised how quickly the participants playing the 'Night Officer' engaged with the role, and how much they engaged with the concept of creating banter and humour. In fact, in W2 there was quite a bit of tension between the 'Night Officer' and 'Kerry', who was trying to support 'Jo' despite the 'Night Officer's' jibes - to the point that it became somewhat uneasy to observe. It is worthy of note that the main two emotions that were displayed here - humour and anger, build on the findings of all three previous phases of this study, and would appear to be the most permissible emotions within policing.

However, both groups quickly acknowledged how inappropriate and unhelpful this 'humour' was, and in doing so indicate that there are specific display rules around the use of humour:

> '...there is a time and a place and you can't really be saying that, especially when someone has been hurt...'

And also in how and who by the humour is delivered:

> 'If (the) team dickhead says it, you are going to react differently, but if it is like… one of those cops on teams… who gives a little bit of banter, but knows when a colleague is in the shit, he is the one that will turn to him and say - you alright mate? And if it comes from that cop you will probably just go - yeah. You won't take it in the same way.'

This last comment gives an insight into the importance of establishing relationships between colleagues and the acknowledgment of a need for a balance between humour and compassion. However, building on Phase Three (5.3.1 of this study) even if an officer does choose to show some compassion towards a colleague, officers are still likely to supress their emotions. Even to a colleague who is able to display some compassion: 'you will probably just go – yeah' and decline to express your inner emotions. Drawing on the findings of Phase Three – it is likely due to the

fear of being seen as weak, as per the feeling and display rule: Emotions Are A Sign Of Weakness (5.3.1 of this study).

7.4.2 Supervision.

The role of 'Sgt Sam' was discussed by both workshops. Both groups expressed disappointment and frustration with 'Sgt Sam's' behaviour and his lack of care and compassion for his staff and all that they have been through, adamant that they would act differently:

> 'I would not have said that I am going home. And I am a fool to the job, but if I have got staff in then I go home when they go home. I do not go home before my staff, particularly after a job like that. So no, that whole, by the way I am going home are you alright - that is horrendous.'

This criticism goes against the reality described by participants in the early phases of the study where they expressed an inability to look to their supervisors for support and were often left on their own after dealing with incidents (5.3.4 and 5.3.5). However, both groups acknowledged that sergeants in current operational circumstances were under a great deal of pressure themselves:

> 'There is going to be times when you don't have enough… if you got several scenes; there was an officer that I spoke to… who was saying how covering a ridiculous area… got another call 50 miles away, a colleague put an urgent assistance out and there was no one to send… and they do become a little bit desensitised because, sometimes if you don't go home, you never go home, if you have one of those weeks where every shift is just one and something else …you will always have something..'

It is interesting that this participant recognised that supervisors were becoming desensitised or possibly depersonalised from their officers' plights as a way of coping or due to the work intensity and their inability to assist them - and in this example, unable to help them in a life-threatening situation. Clearly there is recognition of the pressures that supervisors are under and the coping mechanisms available to them, a point that is raised by participants in Phase Three (6.2.2 of this study). However,

this led to a silencing effect on participants who felt unable to discuss their emotional needs with supervisors who are clearly suffering themselves. This is another reminder to officers that their emotions come second to the needs of the organisation and the investigation.

W1 brought up another consideration that I had not anticipated within the scenario - the Independent Office for Police Conduct investigation (IOPC). Participants quite rightly articulated that this scenario (Appendix G) would be treated as a 'police contact death' and there would be an independent investigation being carried out, alongside the criminal investigation (The Police Reform Act 2002). This would undoubtedly place extra pressure on 'Sgt Sam' to prioritise evidence gathering, over officer wellbeing, although adding to the anxiety of the attending officer 'Jo'.

7.4.3 Single Crewing and Peer Support.

Both groups raised the matter of single crewing, and how this removed the time and access to peers, which participants identified as an opportunity to build relationships and to diffuse emotions. This built on the Phase Three Superordinate Theme 6.3.3 'Relationships'. Having time with colleagues was seen as an important aspect of informal support, though it was recognised that it took time to build up a relationship to the point of trusting someone enough to open up to them:

> 'For me that came with working in a car with somebody and going to a job and seeing how they deal with a job and knowing that they felt the same way and they reacted the same way and you had each other's back, that built up your trust, and you knew then, oh, went into a bit of a hairy situation but they had my back and I was safe or there was two or three of us but we each held our own. You then build up the trust that way.'

> 'When you sit in a car 8 - 10 hours a day you know whether they are being truthful, and whether they have had an argument with their partner or lass and they will tell you they are pissed off..'

Trust was raised as a significant issue when it came to speaking openly about emotions, and it was felt that this was developed through the relationships built on

teams. A point raised by participants in Phase Three: Superordinate Theme Consequences and Trust (6.3.1) However, this was seen as a thing of the past and it was perceived that the officers that were new in service did not have this bond or relationship with each other:

> **'**It is probably because they just go out, or come in all single crewed, don't see their colleagues for ages and then - so how are they going to develop that relationship if they don't see each other? You don't get to go to jobs together.'

> **'**I think that there is less team work and that is to do with a whole multitude of reasons...'

> **'**Single crewing was the complete death of that.

This reflects the perspective of the ex-officers who also felt that relationships with colleagues were eroded by practice and policies focussed on servicing demand before officers' wellbeing. Indeed, it was picked up how the use of technology in the police exacerbated this situation with what senior officers may see as a best use of 'resources' actually leads to the isolation of individual officers, akin to remote working:

> 'I think technology has been really great for policing but has also contributed to this. You get a bobby booking on at a station, they get in a car they have their PDA, they have no need to go into a police station, they might never see another colleague all day, deal with whatever, then go home and it could be like that for a week of shifts.'

One participant in W1 stood out from the rest for having a very positive experience on their team. Something that other participants were surprised to hear, but welcomed:

> 'I have only been on that team a very short while but I was made to feel very welcome by these people, and already I have that sense of trust towards these people and there is a culture and an ethos that, if a job comes in, we stick together, we get it done together, if someone is stuck on a team guard,

> we will relieve you, we will get you food, we will sort you out, …I was kind of almost given a sit down when I got there and told all of these things, and I bought into it straight away, so..'

And there was a definite recognition that this was a very important aspect of the job that was needed in supporting officers in coping with the different pressure and experience that officers encountered:

> 'At the end of every shift or tour of duty that you know that there is somebody to talk to, that, no matter what happens or how you feel, you have got that trust and that security to know that if you did need to speak to somebody that there is somebody there, even if you don't feel like it at the time, that you know that you can go to them and that is what needs to be built upon on a day in day out to keep the service going is the trust to be able to speak to somebody some body when you need it. It is not every day that you need it, but there will be that day when you know that you need to speak to somebody, and you need to when you do.'

7.4.4 Micromanagement, Task Orientation, and Work Intensification.

The need for mandatory support options was clearly drawn out of the task orientated culture and the work intensification that officers are experiencing. It was clear to see that officer welfare was always going to come second to a culture where operational needs took priority:

> '...people come in they are not getting time to have refs, they aren't getting time to have a toilet break, they are left on crimes scenes excessively longer than they should be, because you have even got governors now not given two hoots, it is all about me, me, me, my team, my team, my budget, so it is very task orientated.'

It is clear that if officers are not getting time to eat, drink or take a comfort break, then there is little scope for their mental health and well-being to be accommodated. This task driven culture was also highlighted as the reason that supervisors rarely took time out to conduct one to ones with officers:

> ‘They haven’t got time to do the one to ones or commit the time to the one two ones because there is always something more important going on, and until we get that resolved and get that balance and make sure that it is just as important to do it...’

There was also a sense of being micromanaged, which perpetuated the task orientated culture and there was a sense that this led officers to depersonalise both members of the public as well as officers:

> ‘I think that the problem in the police now is that we are into a culture of micromanagement... it is purely about following procedures as exactly as they are laid out, you can’t miss a single point on an investigation, it is also about being professional but it is taking away the personal and human aspects of policing.’

This also created a culture of distrust - which was highlighted earlier on as key to officers opening up about their experiences and feelings.

> ‘People feel that they are being constantly looked over their shoulder, whether they are constable sergeant or inspector or whatever it is there is always that pressure, like a big weight upon you, you are worried about missing the slightest thing, worried about being told - well you didn’t put this line on that job, why didn’t you do your 1-10 write up or whatever and that will come back on you and that is the big pressure.’

> ‘Lack of trust, micro-management comes with a lack of trust because they are not giving you the opportunity to do the job.’

This constant scrutiny and intense surveillance leads to a sense of lack of personal accomplishment (Maslach and Jackson, 1981).

7.4.5 Not? being Valued by the Wider Public and Senior Leaders.

Participants from both workshops articulated feeling unsupported by both the public and senior leaders. In a way they felt isolated as members of society and despised by the communities that they serve and their senior leaders:

> ‘we are constantly being seen as the bad guys, the press portray us in a really negative way, and it would be nice to be supported, the last time that I said this I got shot down a bit, but I rarely see senior officers standing up and telling the public how good a job we are doing.’

There is also a feeling of being dispensable, that you are ‘just a number’:

> ‘The worst thing that you can be told is - if you don’t like it, go and do something else. But I don’t want to do anything else, I love what I do, which is why I feel the way that I do...’

This translates into the physical environment, which sends a signal to officers that they are not worth investing in:

> ‘And it is the environment that we are in because I can guarantee that everyone around here will have equipment that is missing that is needed for their role, whether you are sat in a shitty office, like for example we are sat in a shitty office full of fleas, and we have had the flea people out so many times; we can’t get cars because they are broken, and if we break a car, sometimes we can’t even get a biro, we have to go down to Tesco’s and buy the team their own biros. So, if somebody could get those basics to make the team feel valued, if there is something that is broken and you need it and then you start feeling valued as a member of your own team.’

Indeed, participants clearly articulated how they believe that they are no longer viewed as human beings who have valid, reasonable emotional responses:

> ‘We have depersonalised that police officer and saying - you are not a victim having seen that. It is like saying that your brain is physically different to other peoples.’

7.5 Officer Well-Being.

7.5.1 Welfare Second, Scene Guard First.

I had included in the role play the attending officer ('Jo') being stood on scene guard in clothes with the victim's blood on. I did this because it appeared a number of times in the audio diaries and interviews and I wanted to explore this more as a common experience and the affect it had on the individual.

> 'You don't want to be covered in anyone's blood and I think as a supervisor… if it is evidential, then you are going to deal with them differently… even if you… have to put them in a SOCO suit… but sat in someone else's blood, particularly when you know that they have died...'

However, it was acknowledged that this was a regular experience in present day operational policing. W2 had a discussion as to why officers were left on scenes in bloodied clothes - taking the operational perspective and highlighting the needs of the investigation. However, the discussion developed further, and it was acknowledged that the experience was that there was more than likely no one to relieve the officer due to shortages of resources, and supervisors were just unable to manage all of the demands made of the teams:

> 'I think that supervisors are run ragged and there is nobody to relieve...'

This point was a reiteration of the earlier discussion of the role of supervisors, the lack of resources and the eventual desensitisation towards or depersonalisation of their officers. However, it is clear that the operational needs come before the safety and the welfare of the officers, requiring officers to suppress their emotions.

7.5.2 Debriefing and One to Ones.

The concept of debriefing (and the lack thereof) was discussed as a follow on to the role play and 'Jo's' debriefing by 'Sgt Sam'. Officers consistently talk about the lack of debriefing - and how this has been a growing trend in recent years. This was echoed in the workshops:

> ‘I learned more in the bar afterwards, and it wasn’t about going and getting pissed or anything, but it was about being able to relax and talk about it.’

It was clear that this is something that participants would welcome back into their working lives as a way to express their emotions. And it does not escape them that this is a practice that already exists within their role, though not for the benefit of officers:

> ‘With the debrief process it would be nice to have something that is formalised, we do it for victims through liaison officers, at least you get that, we don’t do it enough with officers especially in a situation like this.’

This disparity between the treatment of the public and the treatment of officers is something that is echoed later on in the discussion considering the role of compassion.

W1 also discussed a policy adopted by a number of Forces: Operation Hampshire. The intent of the policy was to ensure that when officers were assaulted that they would be treated as a victim. However, participants provided examples of how this has been identified as a need - but they have not had the resources to implement it - with crimes scenes and ongoing daily work being prioritised over officer welfare.

This resonated with what some participants thought about the benefits of having a policy:

> ‘We need something in place.’

> ‘I disagree - the minute that you put a policy in place it becomes a tick box exercise and then people are doing it because they have to and not because they want to.’

> ‘For me it is changing the culture, …we need the personal debrief, and it also needs to be private as well... We can have all of the policies in the world, but unless you have got the culture to go with it, it is pointless. But you need the policy to make it happen, and that would be obviously added into a policy around crime management and scene management, or crime investigation… it could be added in - debrief learning, because they never happen anyway

> when they should happen, and then it is that personal debrief and that return to normality from the excited state, …you always talk about fight and flight in your force, …but we never talk about rest and digest and for me, unless that is in policy it will never happen.'

However, the issue of access to appropriate spaces was also raised, with participants discussing how many of the environments that were once used for personal or group debriefing no longer existed. The point was picked up in the observer sheets - identifying the need for privacy when officers were vulnerable:

> 'Vulnerable, exposed, embarrassed - need confidential space.'

One participant picked this up and explored it further:

> 'That scenario was good in showing how desensitised we are to the space that we are doing the debrief in, what I noticed that it was done in an open plan, so you are not giving that person the opportunity, if they want to be their true self and show their true emotions, or break down, or they actually want to talk about private things or anything, you know, you are not giving yourselves that time and space - that kind of resonated with me that.'

However, an element of display rules can be identified here - as it is implied that it is not acceptable for emotions to be displayed publicly. Nevertheless, the lack of physical provision for officer welfare needs (including basics such as canteens) was identified as a demonstrable organisational signal to officers that their emotions and well-being were not valued or worth investing in:

> 'I think that having the environment is everything and you know… we don't even have sufficient canteens, so if you haven't got that operational space, quiet space, take them out...give that officer that time, but I think that that is a major failing, because if we don't show value, if we don't show physically, you know, that we are looking after our officers, that for me is a major organisational failing, because, if you don't invest in people… at their most vulnerable...'

7.5.3 The 'Police Family'.

This led onto discussion about the concept of the police family and the need for a sense of belonging and support from within the organisation. However, participants articulated how they felt that this was also something that no longer existed and had potentially damaging consequences:

> 'I think that the team and the family is everything in the force, everything else has been eroded and if you have got nothing else if you have got the team together and they gel well, then you know, at least you have got something, and I am dreading the period now where, at the station for example, when a custody alarm goes off, or an assistance shout comes out and you don't see running to vehicles anymore and that scares me.'

> 'I think that we need to fight for some police family, police community, that idea that, people were talking earlier that we joined the police to become part of the police family, but actually the reality of it is...'

Again, there were pockets of positive experience where teams were trying to build that police family support network outside of work hours:

> 'We have started arranging walking days with dogs on our rest days with our team and we have started to go out for drinks and meals together, to get that bond back, because, like you say single crewing, you can't off load, there is no one to talk to, police stations are sterile, you can't speak in a room anywhere.'

7.5.4 Independent Support.

Some participants articulated the need for access to independent support - whether it be on a formal clinical or counselling basis, or just someone external and not invested within the organisation, or just performing a 'tick box exercise'. Indeed, the concept of the force chaplain (any denomination) was raised as an option for independent, informal support.

There was a recognition that any time that was allocated to officer well-being would have to be mandatory, otherwise it would again come secondary to operational

needs. However, despite all the suggestions one participant was keen to point out the subjective nature of personal well-being and coping, within a mandatory framework:

> 'I think that you should have a mandatory welfare day, held every six weeks at least, where all officers mandatory have to go on it, but they don't have to, give them options, if they don't all want to go out with the team or they don't want to go to the pub, because as I say I don't think that drinking alcohol is necessarily a healthy thing... so I think that you can have an options day and they should have facilities, so if officers want to go, so like at the rehab centre.. or doing yoga, or mindfulness, given the option to do that, they don't have to worry about asking permission to take it out of job time or whatever, so it is mandatory, they can also have an option to bring up any concerns that they have, stress, discuss with a professional person independently and confidentially, they have got about family issues or work issues, I think that would be a thing.'

7.5.5 Recruitment and Training.

In the same vein as participants in the audio diaries and interviews who spoke about the need for a 'health warning' on police careers, workshop participants talked about the need to create awareness of personal mental health challenges and coping strategies for new recruits:

> 'I couldn't describe to you what my feelings were on joining the police because nobody spoke about it...when people join the police, they are not just told that they need a degree, which everyone focusses on, it should be - you need a degree and you will deal with awful shit, everyone will hate you, but they might not use it in that language, and this will happen to your body - the hippocampus and your whatever will go crazy, but these are the tools within which you can deal with it. So therefore then when you come out of training school it is already spoken about, so then when you get to area and you get your managers, everyone openly is speaking about it and it becomes the norm.'

> ‘So what needs to change is the recruitment phase, so prior to actually joining the job, like you have said, some guess speakers in, officer who have suffered with depression, and PTSD or anxiety to give a talk, or they could do role plays, this is what you are going to be confronted with on a daily basis, do you think that you can handle this - compounded with the fact that you are working night shifts, you will be in the report writing room the majority of the time, you will be going to custody dealing with prisoners, building all of that in and telling them the harsh reality of policing before they actually join.’

Participants also talked about the need to provide training in people management skills. There was a consensus that the promotion process did not focus on good leadership skills and this led to some poor behaviours being displayed by supervisors:

> ‘It is people management, you need to be able to manage yourself, it is being able to adapt to the situation that you find yourself in...it is the quiet person in the corner that you forget, and then it is also the same if you have got someone who is, for whatever reason, not at full strength because they are suffering because what we have put them through as an organisation, is not treating them as different, not treating them as broken, but supporting them and still keeping them within the team.’

However, when challenged they agreed that people skills were relevant to all officers and that they went hand in hand with investigative skills in terms of importance, where the ability to elicit information from a member of the public, or to reassure a victim were crucial to good policing, as well as internal relations:

> ‘...as a person skill when you are talking to someone, you are actually investigating because you are trying to abstract some information from that person of what I need, what they need, whatever situation you are in, so it is still investigation but it is just done in a people way rather than - my points to prove, my point for the offence.’

7.5.6 Compassion.

Participants seem painfully aware of the contrast between how they are expected to treat members of the public and their communities, and how they are treated themselves. Almost reducing them to second rate citizens whose feelings and emotions are worth less than other members of society:

> 'It is really odd isn't it, the job, it tells us that we have to be compassionate to our victims, yet we don't show compassion to ourselves.'

However, participants clearly understand the need to support each other through their difficult work and how important it is to foster a culture of compassion within the work environment:

> 'We couldn't do what we do if we don't look after each other...'
>
> '...never forget that what we do is not normal, if you start thinking that what we do is normal, we are stuck, compassion not only towards yourself, but towards others and it encourages compassion, if you are compassionate to others it encourages other people to be compassionate, and consistently, just do it consistently. '
>
> 'Because if we all did that, then there wouldn't be a problem. But there is a problem.'

7.6 Integrative Discussion.

Within this summary I start by reviewing how participants expressed their experiences of emotional labour within the organisation, and how they felt that their wellbeing was balanced against the organisational and operational demands of policing, addressing the second **Principle Research Question**:

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

Following this then I move on to highlight the suggestions that were made through the course of the discussions and frame them as recommendations, specifically answering the second **Research Aim**:

- To make recommendations for operational and cultural changes which can improve officers' psychological health in relational to emotional expression.

And the fifth **Principle Research Question**:

5. How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health?

7.6.1 Experience of Emotional Labour.

Both workshops agreed that the scenarios provided reflected their experiences of policing. Reflecting on the role plays the participants expressed: anger, frustration, embarrassment, fear, distress, isolation and being overwhelmed. They felt that they (or the characters) were undervalued and judged. However, predominately humour and anger were displayed within the role plays with few other emotions touched upon, and these were only articulated on reflection, not as an active display. Considering the content of the role plays, and the discussions and reflections post role play that articulated a number of emotions, it is clear that officers are suppressing their emotions. This lack of emotional display reflected the Feel and Display Rule: Emotions are a sign of weakness (Phase Two 5.3.1 of this study) and similarly builds on the work of Pogrebin and Poole (1991), Daus and Brown (2012) and Bakker and Heuven (2006), who raise the idea that officers are depersonalising or desensitising as a way of coping or in compliance with feeling or display rules, and that only humour is permissible. Humour was considered prevalent in organisational settings, yet inappropriate. Progressing the findings of the early phases of this study, humour is shown to have its own set of rules relating to the situation and from whom it is displayed. These findings and the participants' ability to reflect on their emotional experiences in a group setting through the use of guided role play supports the use of the psychodrama principles as a way to enable participants to explore their experiences of emotional labour, without being silenced by the very display rules we were seeking to explore.

Not surprisingly supervisors are seen as key to staff welfare but often failing in this respect by perpetuating the feeling and display rules by implying that place officers' emotions are secondary to the needs of the organisation and public, described by Hochschild as 'Rule Reminders' (2013). Participants highlighted the pressures that supervisors are under and recognised that they are probably struggling too - indeed it was articulated that supervisors need to put themselves first sometimes (and go home) or they will too suffer from burnout. This is an interesting display of compassion from participants and further demonstrates officers true underlying emotional responses to their colleagues' plight.

Participants highlighted external pressures that the police are required to consider - for example IOPC investigations – a point raised by one participant in Phase Three who acknowledged how external investigations often restrict the ability to support officers following traumatic events (6.2.2 of this study). This added pressure only adds to officers' need to continually suppress their emotions for fear as being seen as incompetent or poor decision makers, essentially forcing them into a dissociative state awaiting the outcome of conduct investigations that can last many years. Indeed, it can't go unnoticed that there is a policy for investigating officers after a police contact death, but not a policy for supporting officers after a police contact death. This further adds to the findings relating to how feeling and display rules are communicated and enforced through policy and procedure (5.3.4 of this study). This is a clear signal as to how officers' emotions are valued within the public regulatory sphere. Participants are very aware of the disparity between how the public are supported emotionally and the treatment of officer welfare. As a result, officers feel like second rate citizens whose emotional reactions are not valid or recognised by members of the public or senior leaders.

The one policy (Op Hampshire) that does exist for officers who are victims of assault is actually a pledge (not policy) and only a handful of forces have signed up to it (and are actually aware of it). Even then, its application is dependent on enough resources being available at the time of the incident, a situation indicative of the traumatic circle of silence identified by Rees and Smith (2008).

Staying with policy and procedure, participants in the workshops recognised an increase in micromanagement, typical with the change in police culture which emphasises a rise in managerialism and consumerism, with a focus on targets and professionalization (Westmarland, 2016, Stafford, 2016). This has led to the erosion of trust between supervisors and officers and a perception of an increase in monitoring and surveillance – both which restrict officers' opportunity to authentically display emotion (Hochschild, 1983; Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987; 1989). However, the tension between a need to service customers' expectations (and the subsequent IOPC investigations on failing with this), and the need to service managerialist targets, as identified by Westmarland (2016), is clearly identified through-out the workshops. A situation which forces both officers and supervisors to walk the line between a compassionate and considerate service, and the need to expedite their work. A position exacerbated in the recent years of austerity, leading to significant emotional modulation throughout an officer's daily work where they feel they have little control or ability to deliver the service that they would wish or is expected of them, resulting in a sense of lack of personal accomplishment typical of burnout (Maslach and Jackson, 1921; Brown and Woolfenden, 2011).

7.6.2 Officer Wellbeing.

Again and again officer welfare is placed secondary to operational needs - participants confirmed the experiences of standing on scene guard covered in blood, or not having meal breaks or toilet breaks. It is of no surprise then when officers lament the demise of the debrief and personal one to one meetings with supervisors. Essential experiences that amount to institutional Rule Reminders and an enforced suppression of emotional expression (Hochschild, 2013). This is a concern when research already shows that emotional dissonance (such as emotional suppression) leads to the increase in emotional exhaustion when officers are already experiencing psychological strain – exacerbating the emotional demands of daily police work and increasing poor psychological wellbeing (Van Gelderen et al., 2007). Debriefing is now seen as a thing of the past that used to be carried out with teams on a regular basis, either in the canteen or in the bar, both providing relaxed environments and

reminiscent of the scenes described in Pogrebin and Poole's (1991) study. Participants are quick to point out that there is now no physical space within which to carry out a team debrief other than in front of other teams in the open plan report writing room.

There is indeed a sense of loss of belonging that has been exacerbated by the breakdown of relationships between colleagues and within teams. Single crewing and the use of technology to reduce the amount of time that officers spend in the station (a fall out of the managerialist and target focussed culture (Westmarland, 2016)), see officers isolated and unable to connect with their colleagues. This has led to a situation where officers do not feel able to build up a level of trust where they can confide in their colleagues or seek support.

7.7 Recommendations.

- Supporting change through policy.

When considering recommendations for operational and cultural changes to improve officers' psychological health in relational to emotional expression, participants stated the need for policies that put officers' welfare and emotional needs in line with operational needs. They stated that any policy that supported officers needed to be mandatory, but that the culture around emotional expression and officer well-being needed to change too.

- Recruitment and Training.

Culture change was seen as something that needed to be addressed at the point of recruitment - where the dialogue around what officers would experience emotionally needed to begin. This would be coupled with educating officers around self-awareness and coping whilst still in training, the intention being that by the time that they were fully operational the conversation around emotions had already begun and would be a normal part of police culture. However, the need for continual training was articulated, particularly for supervisors who it was felt needed to be selected and trained for emotional awareness in themselves and in others, and for

emotional awareness and expression to be part of the investigative skills set as well as personal coping.

- Debriefing.

Debriefing was seen as key to bringing emotional expression and peer support into mainstream culture. There is a clearly articulated desire for support to be derived out of close team relationships, established over time, where emotional support is provided as a natural consequence of trust and belonging. It was clear that officers needed to be provided the space, environment, time and relationships to carry out meaningful and emotional debriefing in an environment where they do not feel exposed or judged.

- Building and Maintaining Trusting Relationships.

Solutions to this were seen as a return to double crewing, teams having aligned shift patterns (and thereby booking on and off together and with their supervisor). They also articulated a need for teams to be supported in building their relationships and being provided time to defuse through mandatory team welfare and support days. Participants commented that days similar to the workshops held within forces may be a way to establish the dialogue that frees officers to speak about their true feelings and take steps to changing the culture.

- The Police Family.

Participants argued for the need of a return to the concept of the police family. Participants expressed how they had joined to belong to the police family and that they felt the need for support from people who shared their experiences of police life. This extended into a need to feel valued and to be publicly and privately supported by their senior leaders - but also by the wider public, who they presently feel isolated from.

Chapter Eight: Discussion.

8.1 Introduction.

The aim of this study was to understand how emotional labour impacts the psychological health of police officers within the police service of England and Wales, and to make recommendations for operational and cultural changes which can improve officers' psychological health in relation to emotional expression. In this chapter I will triangulate the findings of this four-phase sequential qualitative mixed methods study. I will identify the main themes across the four data sets relating to emotional labour and psychological outcomes, from here I will align the findings with the extant literature set out in Chapter 2. Within this I will answer the first four of the five **Principle Research Questions** presented at the beginning of this study:

1. How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers?

2. To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

3. How do these rules influence police officer psychological health?

4. To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms?

The final **Principle Research Question**: 5. How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health? And second **Research Aim**: To make recommendations for operational and cultural changes which can improve officers' psychological health in relational to emotional expression, will be addressed in **Chapter 9: Recommendations.**

8.2 Triangulation of Findings: Emotional Labour – The Feeling and Display Rules of the Police Service of England and Wales and the Psychological Impact on Police Officers.

In Answer to Research Question 1: How are the feeling rules of the police service of England and Wales experienced by police officers?

This will be dealt with under the following headings which also outline the identified feeling and display rules of the police service of England and Wales:

- Emotions are a weakness and an indicator of incompetence, operating as unofficial performance measures. Emotional Suppression is a Rule requirement.
- Emotions are communicated through training, policy and procedure, observing colleagues, and interactions with senior leaders.
- Feeling and Display rules are enforced through career limiting sanctions.
- Anger is an acceptable emotion.
- Fear cannot be expressed and must be suppressed.

Within this study there is a symmetry between the media representation of police officers' emotional labour and that experienced by participants. This comes as no surprise in our 'information age' society where social norms and identities are informed by mediated forms of communication, where the lines between public and private information are blurred (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1989; Gergen, 1999; Tracy, 2000). The lines between fiction and reality are thus blurred through the circular feedback loop of television production, where reality feeds into fiction which feeds back into our cultural norms, becoming ever more skewed as the cycle continues (Colbran, 2014). This point is raised by Hoschschild (1983) where she identifies how the 1960's airline advertising subtly rewrote job descriptions, and redefined roles by raising public expectations of a sexualised and obliging flight attendant (Hochschild, 2003). This is important to recognise as, stated by Dyer (1993:1), 'how social groups are treated in cultural representation is part and parcel of how they are treated in life', and so officers and the public will have a predetermined expectation of officers' emotional labour. This finding adds to the hermeneutic quality of this research and furthers the exploration of the emotional labour phenomenon (Mallatt and

Wapshott, 2012; Myers, 2013; Dima and Bucuta, 2016). It identifies that, within the police force:

8.2.1 Emotions are a weakness and an indicator of incompetence, operating as unofficial performance measures. Emotional Suppression is a Rule requirement.

Both media representation and participants articulate that emotional experience and display is a sign of weakness and incompetence, reflecting the findings of MacEachern et al. (2018), Parkes et al (2018x2), Howard et al. (2000) and Frewin et al. (2006). In fiction this is communicated through the 'Boy Scout' archetype, who is presented as an emotional being, full of optimism and compassion for those they encounter. Emotional display in this context is flagged as a sign of inexperience and immaturity, which is reflected in the research of Daus and Brown (2013:316) where officers expressed that 'experience is key for emotional control'. This behaviour in the fictional representation is verbally challenged by more senior in-service officers in the form of a 'rule reminder' or 'nudge' (Hochschild, 2003). Participants within this study found social 'rule reminders' actually came via a lack of interest in officers' welfare, effectively silencing those who may wish to speak out. Distressing incidents are normalised as every day events, and nothing worth speaking of. This reflects the findings of Rees and Smith (2008) who identified the traumatic circle of silence within the British police service. Even compassion is considered a weakness, with officers modulating their emotional behaviour when dealing with members of the public, whilst in view of colleagues for fear of being judged as weak or unreliable. This conflicts with the findings of Stafford (2016) who found that empathetic responses were actually valued by the public. Therefore, this requirement for emotional suppression by officers reduces the public service that they are expected (and often wish) to provide (Westmarland, 2016). Reflecting representation in the media, officers also do not feel able to show compassion for their colleagues, for fear of being viewed as weak themselves, or flagging up their colleagues as not coping.

Not only is there a lack of interest in officers' welfare, when officers are exposed to dangerous or distressing incidents these are dealt with through humour. This reflects

the findings of Progrebin and Poole (1991) and the use of the audio diary data collection method has exposed participants' inner and authentic feelings, allowing this study to understand the effect that humour has on officers at such times. Unlike Pogrebin and Poole (1988; 1991), who found that humour was used as an emotional release, participants in this study found that humour reinforced the message that emotions were not to be discussed and that the use of humour is not only silencing but isolating. Although there is a contrast between Pogrebin and Poole's (1988) findings, it is worth considering the age and context of their study. In Pogrebin and Poole's (1988) research officers had time to bond through humour, with debriefing carried out at the end of every shift, and officers remaining in the briefing room together, post working hours. This significantly contrasts to the experiences of participants in this present-day study, who are rarely debriefed and rarely have opportunity to bond with their colleagues. Much has changed in present-day policing, participants already feel isolated and humour only seems to pour salt on psychological wounds. This finding is not only an important addition and update to the research in this area but is also invaluable to practitioners who will have a better understanding of officers' true emotions when using humour in distressing or stressful situations.

8.2.2 Emotions are communicated through training, policy and procedure, observing colleagues, and interactions with senior leaders.

Not only are feeling and display rules communicated through the behaviour of peers and supervisors, but senior officers also reinforce the emotional standards. Even after major incidents or terrorist attacks officers are dealt with in an authoritarian manner, with no room for emotional expression or time to process emotions. When debriefs do occur, they do not involve emotional processing, and any input from junior officers is often closed down by senior leaders, with the focus being fault finding. This authoritarian leadership style has already been shown to lead to employee silence, which in turn is linked to negative health outcomes (Yildiz, 2013; Chu, 2014). Feeling and display rules are also communicated through organisational policy and procedure. Often officers return from attending a serious incident, to find that there is no supervisor on duty, no-one there to ensure their safe return to the

station or to assess their physical and emotional wellbeing. A policy of single crewing also sends a signal to officers that their wellbeing comes second to meeting financial and operational targets, despite research showing that single crewed officers are significantly more at risk of being verbally insulted, threatened or physically attacked than double crewed officers (Houdmont et al., 2019). Such a policy clearly articulates the view that officers' emotional wellbeing is of no importance, and not worth speaking of.

Indeed, overall welfare provision is sparse, difficult to engage with, and met with significant distrust, often being perceived as a formality to ensure that the officer doesn't place the organisation at risk, rather than supporting emotional wellbeing. Possibly the most intrusive form of rule reminder is the use of Body Worn Cameras (BWC). Used for a number of reasons from evidence collection to increased police transparency, what BWC does is to ensure compliance with feeling and display rules, and in doing so silences officers who are aware that their every word, and expressed emotion, is being recorded (Jennings et al., 2014). This is highlighted in the research of Adams and Mastracci (2019) who also find that BWC increases burnout in officers and decreases perceived organisational support. In addition to the findings of Adams and Mastracci (2019) this study highlights how BWC also removes potential opportunities for peer support from colleagues at distressing scenes. Indeed, if we are to accept that compassionate behaviour is reduced when colleagues are present, one could also surmise that compassionate behaviour will also be limited when operating BWC.

However, the first reminder of the feeling and display rules that officers are exposed to is in the classroom. Participants talk of being trained in dealing with distressing or stressful incidents via the National Decision-Making Model, a reflective system that doesn't acknowledge the role of emotions when decision making. Despite police training utilising role playing as a key element of officer instruction, at no point do the police training systems recognise the role of emotions in dynamic decision making, and officers are left unprepared for the emotions that they experience when exposed to real life events (Sharp, 2000). This is despite research showing that emotions are actually key drivers in decision making, with participants with impaired

emotional responses making riskier decisions and specific emotions are also found to influence appraisal. Pertinent to this study, fearful people made pessimistic judgements and angry people made optimistic judgements (Lerner et al., 2015). As it is, emotional awareness is not included within police training, leaving officers vulnerable in their decision making and processing, and reinforcing the rule that emotions are not valued, or acknowledged, within the police culture. A point that will be revisited in Chapter 9 Recommendations.

8.2.3 Feeling and Display rules are enforced through career limiting sanctions.

Participants within this study experience much more direct 'rule reminders' through experienced and observable consequences to emotional expression. This effects participants in two ways – they suppress their authentic emotions, but they also come to distrust their colleagues and supervisors. Participants are aware that emotional expression is seen as a weakness, and highlight them as unpredictable and incompetent. For units such as fire arms or public protection, participants expressed a fear of losing their 'ticket' to either carry a firearm, or to work on the unit. On these units there appear to be even stricter feeling and display rules, where officers sense that they are expected to be even more stoic than their non-specialist colleagues. This echoes the research of Diefendorff et al. (2011) and Becker and Cropanzano (2011), who identified unit level rules, which may supersede organisational feeling and display rules. It maybe that these organisations have well intentioned emotional and wellbeing strategies in place, but as long as unit level rules prevail, such strategies will struggle to become meaningful. Participants expressed fear that if they reported sick, they would return to work to find that they had been moved off the unit. Ironically, such units impose on officers the need to be aware of their own mental health and to flag any concerns to supervisors, but due to the perceived consequences of such actions, participants indicated that they are less likely to disclose any emotional reaction towards their work (Phase Two 5.3.2 of this study). Even participants in 'non-specialist' units found that the organisational response to emotional or mental health disclosure resulted in isolating sanctions. Participants recounted being removed from their teams, with colleagues, supervisors and senior

officers cutting communication (Phase Three 6.3.1). Indeed, participants who disclosed mental health issues, and took time off for recovery, found themselves placed on action plans for their sickness record (Phase Three 6.2.1). Rather than being supported they were penalised, with the knock-on effect of being prevented from applying for promotion or positions on specialist units. Also, officers who had disclosed previous mental health issues found themselves precluded from applying for specialist posts (Phase Three 6.3.1). All this reinforces the feeling and display rule that emotional expression is a weakness and precludes officers from successfully carrying out their role.

8.2.4 Anger is an acceptable emotion. Fear cannot be expressed and must be suppressed.

Sharing a symmetry with their fictional counterparts and refining the research of Daus and Brown (2012), participants are clear that aggression and anger are acceptable emotions to display. Though participants are cognisant of the need to manage anger, they also use it to cover for fear, an emotion that is not tolerated in any circumstances (Howard et al., 2000). This study expands on the research of Frewin et al. (2006) who argue that police officers' inhibition about speaking of fear is a coping strategy, and that not verbalising fear leads to less experience of fear. The present study shows that although officers may not discuss or display fear with colleagues and family, they very much experience it – and can express it directly. The audio diary method in this study appears to have given participants the sense of security and psychological safety to express their true inner emotions that they otherwise supress. Indeed, this study goes on to explore the emotions that are expressed in order to suppress fear - anger.

Anger is also a common emotion expressed between officers, as they behave towards each other in an aggressive and hostile way. This is very reflective of the machismo culture documented within the criminology literature. This presents a potential problem for an organisation already associated with brutality and unwarranted violence (Reiner, 2010; Bacon, 2014). This feeling and display rule is an important contribution to the understanding of police aggression and reflects the

perspective of Griffin and Bernard (2003) who purport that police aggression can be understood through Anger Aggression Theory (AAT) AAT find that those who are exposed to chronic threat and are unable to actively address this threat, who are also isolated, transfer their aggression to otherwise available targets. Understanding this display rule furthers the literature on police sub-culture, which has traditionally been seen as responsible for deviant and discriminatory behaviours carried out by some officers. This literature has also identified a gap to understanding the relationship between thought, talk and action, and how one is not necessarily a reflection of the other (Waddington, 1994; Bacon, 2014). This study and the use of audio diary method gives a clear insight into why officers may behave in certain ways, despite experiencing contradictory emotions.

In Answer to Research Question 2:

To what extent are the feeling rules of the police service applied within a police officer's life?

This section will be discussed under the following heading:

8.2.5 Feeling and Display Rules operate in all areas of officer's life (though with different motivations).

In their study into internal organisational stressors, Adams and Buck (2010) found that negative interactions with colleagues within the organisation were just as damaging as interactions with offenders and victims. They also found that feeling rules stretched beyond interactions with members of the public and applied to relationships with peers and supervisors. This present study reflected this finding, but took it a step further, identifying that feeling and display rules also operated with friends and family. Indeed, though underlying motivations may differ, there is not one aspect of an officer's life where feeling and display rules do not affect an officer's ability to openly express their authentic emotions and experiences.

Building on the research of Adams and Buck (2010), participants in this study articulated how negative relationships with colleagues and senior officers reinforced the feeling and display rule of emotional suppression. However, they also spoke

about the erosion of trust between peers. So great are the consequences to emotional expression that officers need to build trust in colleagues over time, before they can judge whether they can express feelings outside of the proscribed rules. However, the intensity of work and present-day working practices that perpetuate disjointed, disparate teams, where officers are isolated in attempting to service a relentless workload, do not allow for relationships to develop. This is a reality that is also captured by Dehaghani and Newman (2017) and Dehaghani (2019) in identifying the vulnerability of officers in the present-day target driven, resource deprived, austerity hit police service.

The feeling and display rules that govern an officer within their work, with peers, supervisors and senior officers, are also present in relationships outside of the organisation. Participants talk about not wanting to speak to their loved ones about their work, or to open up about their emotional distress or experience, for not wanting to worry them that they cannot do their work, or that they are not coping. This is reflective of the feeling and display rule that emotional display is a sign of weakness and incompetence. Participants don't feel that it is fair to expose their families to the distress of police work, and they suppress their emotions in an attempt to protect their loved ones. This appears to be a perpetuation of the 'them and us' position that sees officers as keepers of the peace and protectors of the thin blue line, where family members are also members of the public. Not too surprisingly this also applies to friends and social relationships, where participants state that they don't want to talk about their work through fear of losing the relationship – believing that people don't want to hear of the distressing matters that they deal with. All of this is isolating for officers, which is increasingly harmful to their mental health and prevents healthy coping. This builds upon the work of Rees and Smith (2008), MacEachern et al. (2018) and Parkes et al. (2018) and also answers MacEachern et al.'s (2018) call for further research to explore the cultural norms that influence officer coping behaviours. Indeed, in this study I take this area of research to its conclusion. Not only does this level of emotional suppression acted out in compliance with feeling and display rules lead to burnout, desensitisation, emotional numbing etc. as discussed by MacEachern et al. (2018) and Parkes et al. (2018), but

by demonstrating the link between emotional suppression (as a consequence of feeling and display rules, prior, during and post traumatic events, including when speaking to colleagues, supervisors, friends and family) and peri-dissociative, generalised dissociative, and persistent dissociative symptomology, I have drawn out how experienced emotional labour contributes to the likelihood of PTSD outcomes in officers.

This 'them and us' attitude is integral to how police officers view themselves as keepers of the thin blue line, but it is also a position that is perpetuated by society (Reiner, 2010; Bacon, 2014). Participants feel that the feeling rules of emotional suppression are a requirement of the public, believing that the public don't wish to be subjected to officer emotion and that the public look to them to be strong in times of crisis (as opposed to emotional and therefore, weak). Though participants agree that this is a correct response when dealing with incidents as part of their duties, they feel that the public, and the media have taken this too far. Participants often cite news reports degrading officers who are observed drinking coffee, or eating food in public view, in full uniform. Participants themselves feel unable to be seen in public view drinking or eating, or to enter a shop to buy food or drink for fear of being verbally abused. Participants state that they feel that they themselves have been dehumanised by the public and they are expected to be like robots, turning up and dealing with death and destruction without flickering an eye lid, to the point where they aren't expected or tolerated to have normal human needs such as food, water or psychological support. Reflecting back to research of Reiner (2010; 2012) who found that 80% of the public identified the media as their principal source for understanding the police, we can see how the public perception of the archetypal Hard Boiled Detective may influence a belief that police officers are distinctly different from other human beings, with less emotional needs, and a higher tolerance for stress and distress, and a lack of need for familial or social relationships or support.

Feeling and Display Rules clearly operative throughout an officer's life. Beginning with the media constructed image which informs officers' own perceptions of how they should behave, but also that of their families, friends and the wider public.

Officers see their role as protecting the public from the distress of police work, and this includes protecting friends and family – not only for their benefit, but also to ensure that these relationships are not lost to the officer. However, officers also restrict emotional suppression with family members so as not to worry them that they may not be coping with their work. This reflects the general feeling and display rule that emotions are a sign of weakness, which governs the emotional suppression carried out by officers with their peers, supervisors and senior leaders.

In the next section I summarise how the study has answered **Research Questions 3 & 4:** How do these rules contribute to police officer psychological health, and To what extent do police officers use depersonalisation or dissociation as coping mechanisms, by summarising the data under the headings:

- Experiences and Expressions of Burnout
- Experiences and Expressions of Dissociation
- Dissociation as Coping.

8.2.6 Experiences and Expressions of Burnout.

In their original 1979 study into burned-out New York police officers and their families, Maslach and Jackson identified how police officers came to distrust and dislike the members of the public that they worked with, employing a detached and callous attitude as a 'protective device: it reduces the amount of emotional involvement.' (1979:59). Depersonalisation as an aspect of burnout corresponds to the notion of coping whereby officers treat individuals as objects rather than people, in an attempt to protect themselves from the emotional demands created through engagement with others. This can lead to officers presenting as negative, hostile or excessively detached (Lee and Ashforth, 1990; Maslach and Leiter, 2016). Within this study participants seemed to carry out behaviour indicative of depersonalisation in response to feeling and display rules. In this study participants spoke of the depersonalisation of members of the public as one of the few ways that officers are able to bond. Feeling and display rules encourage a deriding and derogatory attitude towards victims, witnesses, and informants (as the other side of the coin to the feeling and display rule that prevents the display of compassion). This is actively

engaged in and considered a characteristic of being a police officer, and a way of cementing belonging within a team. This echoes the findings of Pogrebin and Poole (1991) who found that police officers modulated their emotional expression to influence how they are perceived by others. Participants expressed engaging in this behaviour despite not authentically engaging with the expressed emotions and were therefore surface acting depersonalisation. This also confirms the suspicions of Bakker and Heuven (2006) that depersonalisation is actually a requirement of the organisational feeling and display rules, as well as an aspect of burnout. Taking into consideration the research of Schaible and Gecas (2010) who found that value dissonance led to an increase in depersonalisation, this is likely to be damaging for an officer's mental health and could quite possible lead to the same authentic outcome (depersonalisation) that is being surface acted. This also creates an othering of anyone outside of the organisation and a 'them and us' situation which reinforces the belief that officers are different from other members of society, increasing the sense of dehumanisation and social isolation experienced by officers. This also demonstrates how officers reinforce their own identity and become depersonalised from their own self-perception as they actively take on the persona of the Hard-Boiled Detective (Turner and Oakes, 1994).

Participants also expressed how they felt unable to provide support for colleagues for fear of looking weak themselves and not wishing to make their colleagues look weak. This identifies a new perspective within the research that not only do police officers depersonalise members of the public, but that the feeling and display rules enforce officers to depersonalise or dehumanise their colleagues as well, typical of the aspect of depersonalisation found in burnout, although this is applied to individuals within the organisation (Maslach and Jackson, 1981). This is also reinforced by the exception that aggressive behaviour between colleagues, where derogatory and rude behaviour is displayed towards one another, is acceptable. The most damaging behaviour appears to be from senior officers who verbally degrade junior offices, who feel dehumanised by the organisation. This internal depersonalisation of colleagues adds to Adams and Buck's (2010) research that found internal relationships were just as damaging as interactions with offenders and

victims. This study highlights how strained the relationships between peers, supervisors, and senior leaders are within the police service and how this is a produce of feeling and display rules as well as an outcome of stress, distress, and poor mental wellbeing.

Participants also expressed a lack of personal accomplishment created through the application of the feeling and display rules: when participants inadvertently display emotion to members of the public, or experience emotions that are not considered acceptable, they feel that they have failed in their duty as an officer and let the public down. Obtusely, due to the fear of expressing emotions, such as compassion, participants also feel unable to deliver the service that they wish to members of the public, including how they are able to relate to offenders. This is particularly so when they feel they have to surface act depersonalising behaviour towards members of the public. This typifies this element of burnout which sees officers sensing a loss of control over their ability to carry out their role (Maslach and Leiter, 2016). Here feeling and display rules are particularly restrictive, but also quite destructive for officer's mental health. Not only are officers forced into suppressing their authentic emotions, they are prevented from carrying out their work in a way that they desire. This is compounded by a public who have their expectations raised in terms of delivery by organisational and governmental promises. On the one hand governments have set targets in terms of crime reduction but at the same time heightened expectations of a commoditised customer service, where empathy and compassion are a prerequisite, but run contrary to organisation feeling and display rules which are evocative of the traditional machismo culture (Schaufeli et al., 2009; Loader, 1999; Reiner, 2010; Westmarland, 2016; Stafford, 2016).

The intensity of modern police work that sees officers attended a relentless stream of high risk, high threat, emotionally charged incidents, without time to collect their thoughts and process their emotions. This inevitably leads to an increase in emotional exhaustion as officers forcibly disconnect from emotional experiences to be able to deal with the next incident. This is reflective of the findings of Bakker and Heuven (2006), Van Gerlderen et al. (2007) and Kwak et al. (2018) who identified that emotional dissonance in police officers contributed to emotional exhaustion as

energy resources are depleted. A process which is only heightened with the level of conflict within the organisation and compounded by the lack of supervisory support (Jeung et al., 2008; Adams and Buck, 2010). Even if officers were permitted to express their feelings, the relentless nature of the work they deal with would not provide the space or time to do so. Participants express being emotionally exhausted and drained, explaining how the intensity of the emotional labour they carry out impacts on them both psychologically and physically. Echoing the findings of Kwak et al. (2018), being constantly exposed to others' suffering leaves officers with little space to process their own emotional needs, leaving them exhausted, unable to engage with the people they deal with, and unable to engage with the people they love when they return home. It is this emotional exhaustion that influences officers expressing an intention to quit.

8.2.7 Experiences and Expressions of Dissociation.

Throughout the data sets within this study participants have articulated high levels of dissociative behaviour as both a consequence of feeling and display rules and as a form of coping. There is clearly a stigma around emotional expression within the police service and feeling and display rules reflect this need to suppress emotions and display an outward neutral expression. Participants express a generalised dissociative state and talk of the inability to feel their emotions and are conscious of having hypo-emotional responses to distressing and stressful stimuli, in particular recognising a lack of fear when faced with threats, absence of distress when faced with significant violence against a person or violent death, and unable to grieve when dealing with the loss of close family and loved ones. This is reflective of the research of Lanius et al. (2010:642) who found that 'dissociation is a regulatory strategy invoked to cope with extreme arousal'. This is perceived by participants as a consequence of the organisational and social requirement to suppress their authentic emotions. This generalised dissociative state is more likely to lead to PTSD symptomology for officers that are exposed to repeated trauma (Briere et al., 2005).

Specifically, participants talk about the need to be seen as detached from any emotion, articulating how this is an aspect of policing training and socialisation.

Emotional detachment is identified as an experience of depersonalisation as an aspect of dissociation (Bernstein and Putnam, 1986; Hotgraves and Stockdale, 1996; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This is also recognised as an outcome of high workloads, with officers avoiding emotions so that they can deal with the next incident. Participants themselves recognise how this is taking its toll, and is an indication of being unwell, describing themselves and their colleagues as the 'walking wounded'. This reflects the findings of Aaron (2000) who found that the greater the number of stressors experienced by police officers, the higher the levels of dissociation.

The feeling and display rules identified within this study require officers to suppress their emotions at the time of traumatic events and afterwards, with colleagues. With members of the public, colleagues, and family members, participants perceive feeling rules that require them to distance themselves from their emotions and to deny them. This is also a consequence of a career that expects its employees to respond to incidents even when off duty, making it more difficult for officers to adapt their behaviour outside of the working environment (Maslach and Jackson, 1979). This reflects peri and post traumatic dissociation, and indeed goes on to create a state of generalised dissociation where officers are in a constant state of emotional denial where they are no longer engaging with their emotions (Murray et al., 2002; Biere et al., 2005; American Psychiatric Association, 2013). So adept do participants become at emotional avoidance that they are confused when they experience physiological symptomology (such as not being able to sleep or being snappy with loved ones) having convinced themselves that they are not emotionally affected. This reflects the findings of Pogrebin and Poole who note how 'professional desensitization can be generalized beyond the confines of occupational experiences, negatively affecting an individual's entire emotional response set' (1991:400).

Participants expressed how they felt they had to 'switch off' from their emotions as an expectation of not only colleagues and the organisation, but also the general public who expected them to perform their duties in a desensitised and robotic manner. This is reflective of the societal feeling rules that have dehumanised police officers to the point that they are no longer viewed as fully functioning human beings,

again reflective of the dissociative symptomology of depersonalisation where officer experience a sense of lack of agency around their own emotional behaviour, and feel they must present a robotic demeanour, becoming hypo-reactive to emotional stimuli and hypo-emotional with victims and offenders alike (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). This is also reflective of Albrecht and Zemke's 1985 (cited in Wharton, 1999:162) finding that emotional labour leads to employees becoming 'robotic, detached, and un-empathetic' supporting the hypothesis that emotional labour leads to dissociative outcomes for police officers, due to feeling and display rules that require the suppression of authentic emotions.

This draws this discussion back to the role of the media in informing the public identity of the police officer and 'taken-for-granted realities' (Gergen, 1999:42) where officers recognise themselves not only in their own identity narrative, but within the stories told by others, perpetuating the cyclical social construction of police officers' emotional labour (Mallett and Wapshott, 2012). The recent move to the now prevailing media image of the police officer that is 'broken by the job', where officers lives are 'broken' as a result of the stress and experience of dealing with the distressing elements of police work and society, can be considered as having a significant impact on societies acceptance of the negative outcomes of police work on police officers' psychological wellbeing. Cummins and King (2017) argue that these representations can be viewed as classic cases of PTSD, essentially normalising poor psychological health within the police service. Therefore, we have come to accept an officer who is dissociated from their own emotions – and officers believe that this is the requirement of being a good police officer. However, this is contrary to the research of Stafford (2016) who found that members of the public would prefer an empathetic response from police officers.

8.2.8 Dissociation as Coping.

This study finds that dissociation is not only a requirement of the feeling and display rules of the police service but is also employed as a coping strategy in lieu of a safe environment for an emotional outlet, enabling officers to stay safe within an organisation that persecutes emotional expression. Participants also articulate a

need to dissociate from their feelings in order to service the relentless nature of their work that sees officers deployed in an isolated environment without breaks between attending incidents, and no social relationships with whom to share their emotional burden. This furthers the findings of Aaron (2000) who identified that police officers employ dissociation as a maladaptive coping strategy. Aaron identified that it was not the stressors themselves that predicted poorer psychological adjustment but the avoidant coping style. A point well established within this study. However, this study provides greater depth to our understanding as to why officers apply such maladaptive coping strategies and draws attention to the organisational practices that lead to this behaviour.

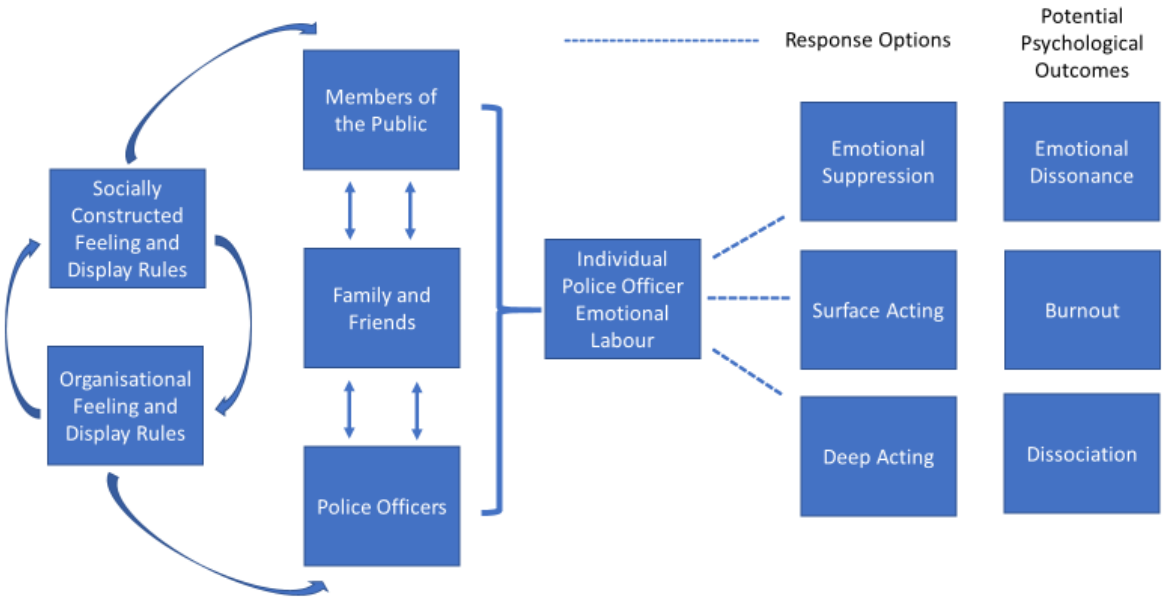
Participants speak of using humour as a way to push away their emotions, so as to enable them to comply with the feeling and display rules, reflective of dissociative behaviour (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). Participants also expressed they felt that it was an expectation that they would express themselves through the use of humour, in lieu of other emotions, which had an isolating affect. This is a direct indication of how officers actively employ dissociative techniques to cope with the work they deal with but also the social and organisational emotional expectations made of them.

Anger is one of the few accepted emotions within the feeling and display rules and employed as a tactic to assist with suppressing other emotions, in particular fear and anxiety. Ross et al. (2018) argue that these behaviours could be better predictors of dissociative PTSD. They propose that anger and anxiety are significant predictors of dissociative PTSD, with anxiety an important risk factor for dissociative PTSD and anger significantly associated with dissociation, even after controlling for PTSD. It would appear that the feeling and display rules of the police service and the machismo culture are actually causes and indicators of dissociative behaviour and the onset of PTSD. This is a significant finding drawn out by the rich qualitative insights of this study, adding to both the research on emotional labour and broader psychological outcomes, and also in the understanding of how PTSD within the police service maybe exacerbated by the culture around emotional expression and dissociative behaviour, as much as the trauma that officers are exposed to.

Not only does the emotional labour of police work lead to the employment of maladaptive coping strategies, engaged with not only to cope with the trauma officers are exposed to, but to cope in a culture that operates under feeling and display rules of emotional suppression and acceptable aggression, but it also acts as a barrier to healthy coping and engaging with social and psychological support. As identified by Kennedy-Moore and Watson (2001) the culture around emotional expression can impede voluntary disclosure due to a sense of shame attached to emotional display. Indeed, individuals who operate in a culture of stigma and shame are less likely to benefit from emotional expression or engage in therapeutic opportunities with any conviction (Kennedy-Moore and Watson, 2001).

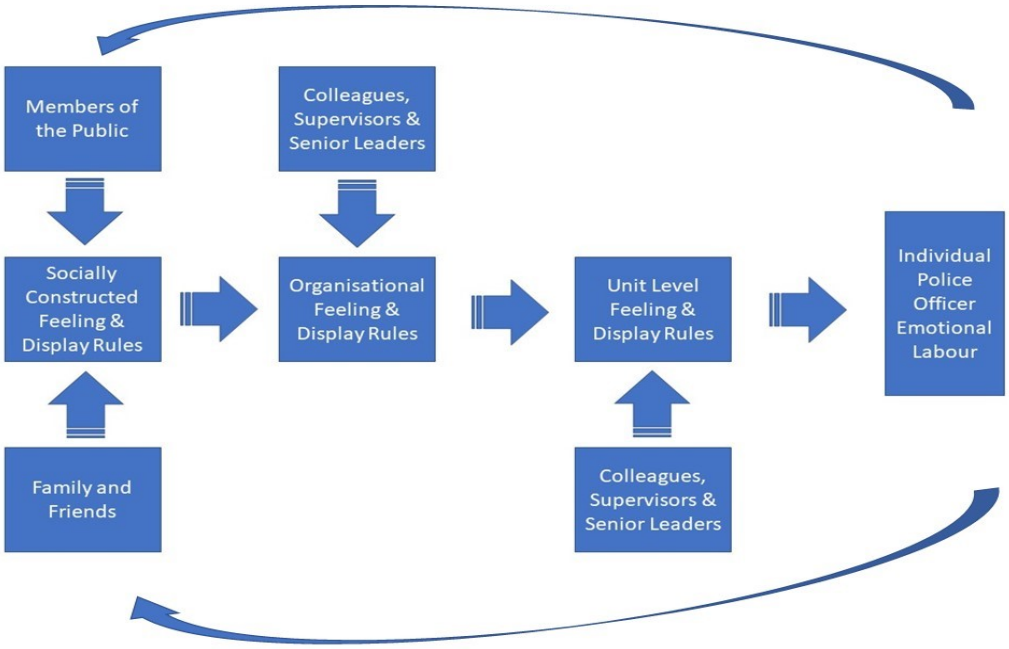
8.3 Revisiting the Conceptual Framework.

The original conceptual framework (below) represented police officers' emotional labour as something that led to psychological outcomes.



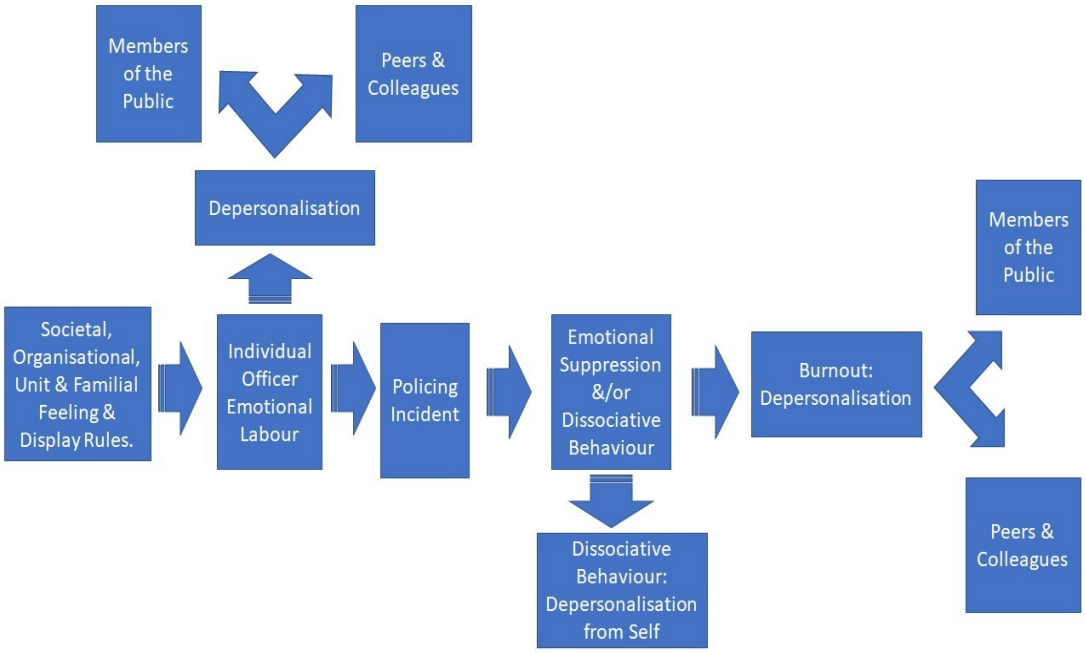
Following on from this study I can now break this down further. Initially I will represent the feeling and display rules as they are socially created, developed and perpetuated within the organisation and how unit level rules can supersede organisational rules (Figure 7 The three areas of police officers' feeling and display rules).

Fig. 7 The three areas of police officers' feeling and display rules.



Now I will represent how police officers' emotional labour causes them to dissociate from their emotions leading to a sense of depersonalisation, and experienced burnout and the depersonalisation of their colleagues and members of the public, prior to being exposed to traumatic events, as well as post event, Figure 8: Police officers' Emotional Labour, Dissociative Behaviour and Depersonalisation).

Fig. 8: Police officers' Emotional Labour, Dissociative Behaviour and Depersonalisation.



The complexity of police officers' lived experience of emotional labour is identified within this thesis as a direct result of using qualitative methods that have complimented the many different narratives obtained within the different data sets. Without giving officers' the opportunity to reflect on their own inner authentic emotional experiences such complexity may never have been uncovered within a quantitative measure that would restrict the expression of experience, and likely presuppose that depersonalisation is a consequence of emotional, rather than also being a requirement of the feeling and display rules.

8.4 Summary.

In this chapter I have brought together the four phases of this sequential research study and triangulated the findings, drawing out the participants' common experiences of emotional labour within the police service. Acknowledging Heidegger's person-in-context view, I have reflected on the similarity of police officer

representation within the media and participants' lived experience, comparing the discourse analysis of selected media items, and identification of representative archetypes, to interpretative and narrative analysis of interview and audio diary transcriptions. The qualitative methods chosen for this study have elucidated the underlying cognitive mechanisms to police officers' emotional display that previously proved elusive with traditional quantitative methods.

The similarities in on screen behaviour, officers' perception of feeling and display rules, and the expectations of members of the public, families, and friends, of officers' emotional behaviour have a cyclical quality emphasising the hermeneutic nature of this research. Typical of the nature of media production, it is difficult to see where the influence begins, as real-life scenarios are recycled into fiction and fed back into the communities that officers are engaged in (Colbran, 2014). It is clear to see that officers perceive public expectations to reflect that of their fictional representation and attempt to live up to this ideal, reflecting the identity research of Mallett and Wapshott, 2012, and Reiner's (2012) research into the media and the police.

Continuing this symmetry between fiction and reality, participants have articulated a perception of feeling and display rules that frame emotional display as a weakness, and indicators of professional incompetence, acting as almost informal performance measures. Participants talk of feeling and display rules that are essentially silencing, and at the same time isolating, with colleagues' and senior leaders' behaviours serving as rule reminders, supported by policy, procedure, and training, that all fail to acknowledge the emotional experiences that officers encounter through their work. Single crewing, the lack of debriefing, and a lack of meaningful welfare support all add to the message that emotional expression is not encouraged, if even tolerated. Effectively this removes emotional expression from the professionalisation of policing and leads to officers suppressing their authentic emotions to present an acceptable outward image. This builds on the research of Rees and Smith (2008) who identified a trauma cycle in policing, perpetuated by silence. This research takes steps to understanding how this silence (and corresponding emotional suppression) is woven into the culture and role

requirements of the police service and officer. In the present day, post-austerity service, conditions for officers have changed considerably. Even traditional black humour has taken on a more sinister turn, where once it was an aspect of bonding (Pogrebin and Poole, 1991), this study shows that humour and banter have the effect of pouring salt on the psychological wounds of already isolated and anxious officers who fear the career limiting sanctions of emotional expression. Not only does this affect officers and their coping, but this also affects their ability to deliver the service that both they and the public desire (Stafford, 2016). Participants expressed the need to supress their sense of compassion and empathetic instincts, and not only for members of the public, but also for their colleagues whom they don't wish to draw attention to. Anger is an acceptable emotion, and often used to cover fear and distress. The level of anger between peers and by senior leaders towards junior colleagues recounted within this study is of particular concern, as this only adds to the isolating environment that officers operate within.

This isolating impact of the feeling and display rules that operate within the police service are compounded by similar rules that operate in other spheres of police officers' lives. In addition, participants articulated supressing their authentic emotions with family and loved ones in the belief that this would make them look weak and unable to cope with their work. However, participants were motivated by the desire not to worry families or to protect them from the distressing nature of police work. This understanding of how officers suppress authentic emotions and display alternate emotions in line with organisational requirements and the underlying motivations responds to the gap identified by Waddington (1994) whose research unearthed a discrepancy between police officers' expressed views and subsequent actions. Building upon the work of Bakker and Heuven (2006) this research demonstrates how officers engage in depersonalising (Maslach and Jackson, 1981) behaviour in response to organisational feeling and display rules, confirming that depersonalisation is not just an outcome of emotional labour as an aspect of burnout, but is a requirement of police officers' emotional labour, prior to burnout. This research finds that officers not only depersonalise members of public that they work with, but also each other. This in turn increased a sense of a lack of personal

accomplishment as officers suppressed their natural empathetic behaviour, leaving them feeling that they could not deliver the service they wished, or support their colleagues in a way that they felt was appropriate. Over all, the need to suppress authentic emotions in an intensified work place has increased officers' emotional exhaustion as they attend many more incidents in a resource light organisation, but with no opportunity to process their emotions. This study also confirms the findings of Aaron (2000) that officers use dissociative behaviour as a form of maladaptive coping, but also highlights how dissociative behaviour is a requirement of organisational and societal feeling and display rules which force officers into a dissociative emotional mind set. These findings, taken in light of the current research into the dissociative subset of PTSD, demonstrate how the emotional labour of police officers can lead to poor psychological outcomes through the requirement to engage in dissociative behaviour as part of the social role of police officer, which when combined with daily exposure to trauma can increase PTSD symptomology (Biere et al., 2005; Lanius et al, 2010; Ross et al., 2018).

8.5 Theoretical and Methodological Contributions.

This study has moved away from the traditional quantitative methods applied to emotional labour and emotion studies in the workplace. This has developed a much richer picture of emotional labour operating in the police service and has allowed for the uncovering of the complexity of the emotional rules and behaviours at play.

8.5.1 Audio Diaries.

The use of audio diaries within this thesis provided the following contributions:

- Access to sensitive data in a safe way
- Access depth/complexity of cognitive processing.

The use of audio diaries has had a significant impact on the depth of the data obtained within this study. When collecting data on such a sensitive topic, which is essentially restricted from expression by the very emotional labour that I was seeking to identify, audio diaries gave participants the privacy and security needed to fully

express their inner emotions and cognitive processing. Typical of this method, by allowing participants to choose when and where they would record their entries, and the minimising of researcher oversight and contact, anxiety and concerns over expressing their emotions in a more public manner were reduced (Crozier and Casell, 2016).

The use of audio diaries led to this study obtaining a rich qualitative data that captured participants' expression of feeling and display rules as they imposed themselves on participants outward emotional display. This provided an insight into individual cognitive processing of emotional experience into emotional display as a response to the perceived feeling and display rules – something that has not been identified through traditional quantitative methods used in this area. This richness and depth of the data provided through the audio diaries has therefore addressed many of the weaknesses identified in the original literature review, and confirmed the benefits of the use of audio diary method within organisational psychology research (Crozier and Cassel, 2016; Carr et al, 2019).

Not only did this bring extensive benefits to the research, participants themselves also expressed a therapeutic experience to making the diary entries, where they developed a greater sense of emotional awareness and sense making to their behaviours and experiences as their depth of reflection increased. An outcome that is supported by the research of Pennebaker (1993) and Travers (2011).

8.5.2 Sequential Qualitative Mixed Method Design.

Through the integrative qualitative methods used, this research has brought a level of clarity and perspective to the extant literature on policing and emotional labour. It has supported the work of Diefendorff et al. (2011) and cemented the case for unit level rules, which are seen in participants' articulation of an expectation of higher levels of emotional suppression in firearms and specialist public protection units.

8.5.3 Cements the link between Emotional Labour and Depersonalisation.

The uncovering of officers' cognitive processing has built upon Bakker and Heuven's (2006) supposition that police officers are depersonalising prior to burnout, and further clarifies that depersonalising behaviour is a feeling and display rule requirement that applies not only to members of the public, but to colleagues and junior officers.

8.5.4 Dissociation linked to Emotional Labour as a Psychological Consequence.

Building upon Hochschild's original research, and subsequent studies, Emotional Labour can now be linked to dissociation as an outcome, along with burnout and emotional dissonance. Also, dissociation can be a consequence of emotional labour, not just trauma exposure. This is particularly important for organisations whose employees are expose to trauma on a daily basis, such as other emergency services (fire and ambulance), critical and end of life care, and disaster support and aid workers.

8.6 Contributions to Knowledge.

Along with the theoretical contributions identified above, this study answers the call of MacEachern et al. (2018) for further research to explore the cultural norms that influence officer coping. It is clear from this study that the culture of machismo in the police is alive and well and operating via the feeling and display rules of emotional labour. Though it has long been recognised that police officers apply maladaptive coping mechanisms that have negative impacts on officers, their families, and wider communities, the motivations that lie beneath these choices have not often been clear (Maslach and Jackson, 1979; Aaron, 2000; Rees and Smith, 2008; Parkes et al., 2018; MacEAchern et al., 2018). For a long time now trauma exposure per say has been the central villain in the police mental health story, however, it would appear that police culture itself is the very cause of psychological ill-health, by preventing healthy emotional processing.

This study has identified that police officers are engaging in dissociative behaviour as a requirement of the feeling and display rules of society and the organisation. This extends the work of Aaron (2000) who identified that police officers used dissociative behaviour as a form of maladaptive coping. This study can now clarify why this behaviour is carried out, and how this maybe contributing to poor psychological outcomes in the form of dissociative PTSD (Murray et al., 2002; Briere et al., 2005; American Psychiatric Association, 2013; Ross, 2018).

This study has identified that police officers experience very similar feeling and display rules when dealing with members of the public, colleagues and supervisors, and family and friends. Extending the understanding of Emotional Labour theory as not just applicable within the organisation, but also locating it as operating with the family home and social relationships. This has a significant implication as to how we view the reach and control of the organisation, as it seeks to impose itself on the employees personal as well as professional identity.

8.7 Practical Implications.

Although this research is purely qualitative and, in comparison to the population under study, is only a small sample, the methods used provide an invaluable and previously uncaptured insight into police officers' emotional cognitive processing. Qualitative research does not seek to generalise through large samples but seeks to research saturation through choosing participants who represent different perspectives of the phenomenon. As Waddington (1994) identified, there is a gap of understanding between what police officers express and their behaviours. This study has exposed the emotional modulation that officers engage in to comply with organisational and social expectations. The link between high levels of emotional regulation with negative psychological outcomes places a legal obligation on the police service to not only do more to protect staff from the negative consequences of trauma exposure, but to improve the likely psychological outcomes through the support of positive trauma processing (Health and Safety at Work Act, 1974). With the high levels of mental health sickness absence being experienced by forces across the country, there is a strong business case for organisations to do more in terms of

emotional processing and mental health sickness prevention (MacEachern et al., 2018, Parkes et al., 2018; Miller and Burchell, 2019).

In a very real sense police officers and senior leaders need to be educated on the psychological benefits of early emotional disclosure in a safe social setting and how this moderates the complexity and debilitating nature of negative psychological outcomes (Stephens and Long, 1999 & 2000; Heffrena and Hausdorf, 2016).

As officers take their understanding of feeling and display rules from colleagues and senior officers, it is incumbent on senior leaders to ensure that appropriate behaviours of emotional expression are embodied by those in positions of influence. Of particular concern is the articulation of high levels of aggressive behaviour between colleagues and from senior leaders towards junior officers. Indeed, the levels of deriding behaviour recounted within this study not only breach Police Regulations and the Code of Ethics, these could also amount to instances of bullying and result in allegations of misconduct and employment tribunals (College of Policing, 2014). This concern is further emphasised by the identification of the punitive responses to emotional display and the enforcement of feeling and display rules through career and personal consequences. Whilst the organisation responds to officers who articulate emotional stress or distress via a risk adverse response, removing and isolating officers from the very social support they require to recover from trauma exposure, officers will continue to suppress their emotions, and consequently become ill. This is more of a risk to the organisation than the expression of emotion that these officers inevitably experience as a natural consequence of their work.

The identification of the feeling and display rules that advocate a depersonalised attitude towards the people that police officers work with, whether within or external to the organisation, has significant implications for police service delivery. With the move to a customer service style policing model, members of the public have an expectation of a compassionate and empathetic service (Westmarland, 2016; Stafford, 2016). Participants within this study articulate how the feeling and display rules of the very organisation that advocates a compassionate service provision, prevent the articulation of empathy with the people that officers are

charged to support. Not only does this restrict the quality of service that officers can provide, it also prevents officers from ever truly feeling satisfied in their own professional competence, as an element of burnout this is itself detrimental to officers' wellbeing (Maslach and Jackson, 1979 & 1981).

Chapter Nine: Recommendations.

The final phase of this research moved from problem identification into exploring potential solutions, in line with the critical action research approach to this study. This section of the research sort to answer the fifth research question: How can the feeling rules be adapted to improve police officer psychological health?

The following recommendations are drawn out of both the problem identification conducted within the first three phases of this study, and the solution recommendation discussed in the final phase.

9.1 Physical Environment – Provide officers with comfortable spaces to eat, drink and talk.

Officers talked about a lack of investment into their physical environment. In an effort to comply with austerity budget cuts most canteens and police bars, gyms, and social spaces were cut with the selling off of estate infrastructure. Also, simple things like pens are no longer provided. When considering the implied nature of feeling and display rules this sends a message to officers that they are not valued by the organisation and are treated as second class citizens.

9.2 Single Crewing – Implement policy that sees officers double crewed as routine.

With research already showing that single crewed officers are more likely to be verbally and physically abused (Houdmont et al., 2019), the argument for single crewing officers is no longer tenable, and continued use is likely to strongly enforce officers' belief that they are not valued by the organisation. This also breaches the Health and Safety at Work Act 1974. However, double crewed officers are more likely to build relationships with colleagues that enable them to speak openly and authentically about their emotional experiences.

9.3 Time to Process Emotions and Build Relationships with Peers.

Grandey and Sayre (2019) argue that employees should be supported in their emotional labour and they should be permitted to take breaks when needed to recover resources lost by surface acting and deep acting. For officers this would also provide time to process the emotions experienced as a consequence of the scenarios they encounter. This would also afford officers to build all important relationships with peers, fostering a climate of emotional authenticity that would allow them to openly express those negative or distressing emotions in a way that will lead to healthier psychological outcomes (Aaron, 2000; Grandey and Sayre, 2019).

9.4 Debriefing.

Not only invaluable for operational development through lessons learned, debriefing, which includes the discussion of emotions, supports officers' discussion of emotional experience with colleagues that have shared these experiences and will provide officers the opportunity to process emotions in a supportive environment as recommended in the trauma literature (Stephens and Long, 1999 & 2000; Heffrena and Hausdorf, 2016). However, this is only effective if conducted in a supportive and psychosocial safe environment (Aaron, 2000).

9.5 Emotional Intelligence.

Officers' speak of the need to be equipped with an emotional language and ability to recognise their own emotions and stress responses. Emotional intelligence begins with the ability to identify and acknowledge your own emotions, and then to recognise how your behaviour impacts the emotions of others (Goleman, 1996). Supporting officers in developing their own emotional intelligence will aid their ability to identify and acknowledge their trauma responses, and subsequently articulate them. Considering the referenced aggressive behaviour between colleagues and by senior leaders, understanding how individual behaviour impacts those around you would hopefully modify this behaviour too. However, as emotions are considered integral in decision making, greater emotional awareness should support better decision making. Displaying emotions should become seen performance positive as emotional processing become seen as a necessary element

of an affective, competent and emotionally intelligent police officer (Grandey and Sayre, 2019)

9.6 Compassionate Leadership.

Building on the above, as feeling and display rules are learnt through observing the behaviours of others and in particular by those with power, compassionate leadership would contribute considerably to an improvement in internal attitudes and behaviours. Leadership that doesn't respond to emotional display with punitive measures or fear is likely to encourage earlier disclosure and greater help seeking behaviour where required. This will also help to dispel beliefs that emotions are seen as a weakness and a threat to officer competence. Indeed, compassionate leadership is known to benefit all organisations through having a supportive and inclusive approach to leadership that supports innovation and improves service quality (Worline and Dutton, 2017).

9.7 Police Family: Being Valued and a Sense of Belonging.

The above intervention – compassionate leadership also supports the main aspect that officers talked about in the workshops – the police family. Officers have often talked about a sense of belonging and camaraderie, and this is often cited in supporting officers through difficult and challenging times. Participants in this study talked about how this no longer exists, eroded through the break down in relationships, the increase in disparate teams, individual isolation and a lack of trust.

9.8 Limitations and Future Research.

As with all research this study has its limitations. Although I designed this research with the intent of capturing rich data that reflects the many perspectives of lived experience within the police service, the desire to capture the detail of the general feeling and display rules of operational officers does mean that specific groups were not actively targeted or were excluded all together. This limits this thesis in a number of areas.

9.8.1 Rank Related Rules.

In all of the three phases of primary data collection the population sample was inspector and below. This excluded all other ranks above. As the police service is a hierarchical organisation, where officers progress through the ranks sequentially, understanding how chief inspectors and above perceive the feeling and display rules may have provided an illuminating or contrasting perspective to that of the more junior ranked officers. Exploring how the perception of the feeling and display rules apply throughout the rank structure, how they impact senior officers' perceptions of junior officers' and how dissociated or burned out senior officers are may explain some of the behaviours articulated by the participants within this study. A further study exploring whether perceptions of feeling and display rules change as officers progress through the ranks maybe helpful in challenging existing behaviours.

9.8.2 Unit Level Rules.

As already identified in the literature of Diefendorff et al. (2011) and Becker and Cropanzano (2011), and further built upon within this study, feeling and display rules differ within organisational units. In this study firearms officers and public protection officers perceived themselves to be at risk of losing their position on the unit if they displayed any emotion. Consequently, they perceived the unit feeling and display rules to be more stringent than that of other non-specialist posts. Participants on specialist units felt they were expected to display nothing other than complete emotional neutrality in all circumstances. This was also perceived as a sign of their competence within their specialism.

As there were only a few officers from specialised units within this study (as it had not been the intention to target them) I was not able to direct the research to this area in any meaningful way, and this became almost a side issue. There is very little research focussed on the area of unit level feeling and display rules. From the few participants that considered themselves to be on separate units within the police service it would seem that this is an area worthy of further study, particularly as this may make units impervious to any interventions that may seek to undermine the

general organisation feeling and display rules such as those explored within the recommendations of the this study.

9.8.3 Individual Organisational Feeling and Display Rules.

Building on the above point regarding unit level feeling and display rules, it is worth considering the disparate nature of individual police forces, alongside the difference in the local communities that influence them. Although the 43 police forces of England and Wales all uphold the same laws and operate with the same powers, to all other intent and purposes they are very different. They all have separate recruitment and selection standards and processes. Their promotion processes differ starkly to the point where officers failing promotion interviews in one force are able to apply in another and be successful. IT systems are different in all forces (which is also an operational issue), as are uniform standards, and investigative and operating procedures. Even radio protocols are nuanced from force to force. Not only does this pose difficulties for individuals who find themselves victims outside of their home force area (as one force cannot update on another's investigation) this also leads to very different cultures. For example, a sergeant in a costal force maybe known as a 'skipper', where as in a city force this tag would be meaningless. If I am to draw on the socially constructed nature of feeling and display rules, I must then consider that different local communities will have different expectations and perceptions of acceptable officer behaviour. For example, a member of the community in central Birmingham could be expected to have a very different perception of acceptable police officer emotional display to a member of the community in Dorset. Therefore, it is likely that local police officers will perceived these socially created feeling and display rules and adhere accordingly. With this in mind, this study is limited in so much that it has established the commonality of feeling and display rules across the forces of England and Wales, but I cannot speak to the difference from organisation to organisation.

9.8.4 Gendered Nature of Emotion Work.

In 1999 Martin published a study into the gendered nature of emotional labour within the police service. Women felt under more pressure than their male colleagues to suppress their emotions – which were not valued as qualities within the police service. Though a study of some age, some of the findings of Martin (1991) were reflected by a number of the female participants within this study, who felt that if they were to display their authentic emotions that this would be attributed to the fact that they were female, not that they were having a valid emotional response to a situation. Again, I did not specifically set out in designing this study to capture the different male and female perceptions and experiences of emotional labour within the police service, my initial interest was to establish how and what the feeling and display rules of the police service were perceived as a whole. As it is, I feel that there is a worthy study in examining the social expectation of womens' emotional expression contrasted to a female police officers' experience of the organisational feeling and display rules of the police service, and how this differs (or not) to the experience of male officers. From my study it was not clear from the few comments that were made by both sexes who felt under the more pressure to suppress their emotions – women felt they had to prove themselves beyond the standard for men, but male officers expressed a frustration that they were not expected to experience emotions in the first place. This resonates with the perception of socially constructed feeling and display rules that both place pressures on men and women as well as female and male police officers.

9.8.5 Measures of Dissociation and Burnout.

The intention of this study was to capture the lived experience of police officers and their expressed emotional labour and psychological outcomes. Therefore, my identification of dissociation and burnout are purely via participants own narrative. Now that I have implied this relationship between emotional labour, dissociative behaviour and PTSD I believe that there is a great deal of merit in the application of a quals-QUANTS mixed methods study that compares narrative expression of emotional labour with clinical assessment of dissociation, burnout and PTSD. With a

greater understanding of what the feeling rules are within the police service, and how they are communicated and enforced within the organisation and society, the next step would be to confirm the psychological outcomes at a more clinical level, further strengthening this study, but also confirming the need to address the behaviours identified within this study.

9.8.6 Interventions.

Throughout this study I took a critical action research approach, seeking to involve my participants in the framing of the issue at hand, and empowering them to identify credible solutions. The final part of a complete action research study would be to implement these solutions and study the outcomes in comparison to the existing research. This was not possible within this study as time would not allow, and this would also require more than the one researcher restriction for a PhD. However, I am now in the position where further research maybe possible, where interventions along the lines of training in compassionate leadership and emotional intelligence maybe implemented within a batch of forces, supported by this initial study. The intention is to improve the mental health and wellbeing of officers, engaging them in emotional expression in an effort to reduce PTSD outcomes. Using this study, I believe that meaningful interventions can be designed that would directly target the behaviours that lead to the perpetuation of the feeling and display rules within the police service. Future research would assess the impact of these interventions on officers' experience of emotional labour and psychological outcomes.

9.9 Summary and Conclusion.

Officer wellbeing and mental health need to be considered in line with operational needs – not second to them. Within the police service there is always the argument that someone else's needs are greater than the officers', but (appropriately using an airline analogy) we need to start fitting our own oxygen masks before we can start to help others. At the current rate of officer attrition and sickness due to mental health illness we cannot successfully provide the service required to the members of public who seek it. The above recommendations should be interwoven into every element

of police training, policy and procedure. Emotional Intelligence should be integral to police decision making – and should be integrated into the National Decision-Making Model, making it more typical of traditional reflective practice models (Schon, 2017). Compassionate Leadership should be role modelled by leaders who embody integrity and authenticity. More time should be made for officers to process their emotions and build the relationships needed for genuine peer support, strengthening the notion of the police family.

No longer should mental ill-health be seen as an inevitable outcome to trauma exposure through police work. It can be seen through this research that it is the organisation itself that contributes to the distressing experiences of individual police officers and their associated psychological outcomes. The recommendations for future research within this thesis offer practical options that can assist individual forces in making meaningful contributions in the support of individual officers' healthy coping and positive mental health outcomes, and positively improve both the lives of our police officers and the communities that they serve. During the completion of this study I have used my findings to advise and deliver wellbeing and resilience interventions to front line and senior leaders in police forces across the country. As an associate to the College of Policing I now advise on wellbeing strategies, and how to support police organisations to better protect their staff from their working environments and improve organisational culture. Only by raising awareness of the feeling and display rules, and the consequences of emotional suppression - post traumatic events, can we seek to challenge the emotional labour that binds our officers to the socially constructed archetype of the Hard-Boiled Detective and the related psychological ill-health.

References

Aaron, J.D.K. (2000) 'Stress and Coping in Police Officers.' *Police Quarterly,* 3(4) pp. 438-450.

Abro, M.M.Q., Khurshid, M.A. and Aamir, A., 2015. The use of mixed methods in management research. *Journal of Applied Finance and Banking*, *5*(2), p.103.

Adams, G. A. and Buck, J. (2010) 'Social Stressors and Strain Among Police Officers: It's Not Just the Bad Guys.' *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 37(9) pp. 1030-1040.

Adams, I. and Mastracci, S. (2019) 'Police Body-Worn Cameras: Effects on Officers' Burnout and Percieved Organizational Support.' *Police Quarterly,* 22(10), pp. 5-30.

Allen, J., Livingstone, S. and Reiner, R. (1998) 'True Lies. Changing Images of Crime in British Post War Cinema.' *European Journal of Communication,* 13(1) pp. 53-75.

Alvesson, M. and Deetz, S. (2000) 'An Introduction to Critical Research.' *In* Alvesson, M. and Deetz, S. (ed.) *Doing Critical Management Research.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 1 - 22.

American Psychiatric Association. (2013). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders (DSM-5®)*. American Psychiatric Pub.

Ashforth, B.E. and Humphrey, R.H. (1993) 'Emotional Labor in Service Roles: The Influence of Identity.' *The Academy of Management Review,* 18(1) pp. 89-115.

Ashforth, B.E. and Mael, F. (1989) 'Social Identity Theory and the Organization', *The Academy of Management Review,* 14(1) pp. 20-39.

Bacon, M. (2014) 'Police culture and the new policing context' *In* Brown, J. (Ed.) *The Future of Policing.* Oxon: Routhledge, pp. 103-119. DOI: 10.4324/9780203435946

Bahn, C. (1984) 'Police Socialization in the Eighties: Strains in the Forging of an Occupational Identity.' *Journal of Police Science and Administration,* 12(4) pp. 390 - 394.

Bakker, A.B. and Heuven, E. 2006 Emotional Dissonance, Burnout, and In-Role Performance among Nurses and Police Officers'. International Journal of Stress Management, 13(4) pp. 423-440. shuc

Barbour, R. (2006) Mixing qualitative methods: quality assurance or qualitative quagmire'. *In* Bryman, A. (ed.) *Mixed Methods,* vol.2. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. pp. 229-241.

Barsade, S. G., & Gibson, D. E. (2007). 'Why does affect matter in organizations?' *Academy of Management Perspectives*, pp. 36–59.

Becker, W.J. and Cropanzano, R. (2011) Chapter 8 Display Rules and Emotional Labor within Work Teams. *In* Hartel, C., Ashkanasy, N. and Zerbe, W. (eds) *What Have We Learned? Ten Years On*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Ltd. Pp. 197-223.

Bell, S. and Eski, Y, (2015) '"Break a Leg – It's all in the mind": Police Officers' Attitudes towards Colleagues with Mental Health Issues, *Policing,* pp. 1-7

Bernstein, E.M. and Putnam, F.W. (1986) 'Development, reliability and validity of a dissociation scale.' *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease,* 174, pp. 727-735.

Bevan, M.T. (2014) 'A method of phenomenological interviewing.' *Advancing Qualitative Methods,* 24(1) pp. 136-144.

Bhaskar, R. 2014 Forward *In* Edwards, P.K., OMahoney, J. and Vincent, S. (Eds) Studying Organizations Using Critical Realism: A Practical Guide. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Vol. 17, pp. v-xv.

Bhowmick, S. and Mulla, Z. (2016) 'Emotional labour of policing: Does authenticity play a role?' *International Journal of Police Science & Management*, 18(1) pp. 47-60.

Bolger, N., Davis, A., & Rafaeli, E. 2003 Diary Methods: Capturing Life as it is Lived. Annual Review of Psychology, 54(1), 579–616.

Bolton, S. (2001) 'Who cares? Offering emotion work as a 'gift' in the nursing labour process.' *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 32(3) pp. 580-586.

Bolton, S. (2005) *Emotion Management in the Workplace.* Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Bolton, S. (2009) 'Getting to the heart of the emotional labour process: a reply to Brook.' *Work, Employment and Society,* 23(3) pp. 549-560.

Bolton, S. and Boyd, C. (2003) 'Trolley dolly or skilled emotion manager?' *Work, Employment and Society,* 17(2) pp. 289-308.

Bolton, S.C. (2005) *Emotion Management in the Work Place.* Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2006) 'Using thematic analysis in psychology', *Qualitative Research in Psychology,* 3(2), pp. 77-101. doi: 10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brewer, J., and Hunter, A. (2006) *Foundations of Multimethod Research*. California: SAGE Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412984294

Briere, J., Scott, C. and Weathers, F. (2005) 'Peritraumatic and Persistent Dissociation in the Presumed Etiology of PTSD.' *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 162 pp. 2295-2301.

Briner, R. B. 1999 The Neglect and Importance of Emotion at Work.' European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 8(3) pp. 323-346.

British Psychodrama Association (2019) *What is Psychodrama?* [Online] 14th December http://www.psychodrama.org.uk/what_is_psychodrama.php

Brocki, J. and Wearden, A.J. (2006) 'A critical evaluation of the use of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) in health psychology.' *Psychology and Health,* 21(1) pp. 87-108.

Brook, P. (2009) 'In critical defence of 'emotional labour' refuting Bolton's critique of Hochschild's concept.' *Work, Employment and Society,* 23(3) pp. 531-548.

Brook, P. (2013) 'Emotional labour and the living personality at work: labour power, materialist subjectivity and the dialogical self.' *Culture and Organization,* 19(4) pp. 332-352.

Brotheridge, C.M. and Grandey, A. A. (2002) 'Emotional Labor and Burnout: Comparing Two Perspectives of "People Work"'. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour,* 60 pp. 17-39.

Brotheridge, C.M. and Lee, R.T. 2003 Development and Validation of the Emotional Labor Scale.' Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 76 pp. 365-379.

Brown, J. and Woolfenden, S. (2011) 'Implications of the Changing Gender Ratio amongst Warranted Police Officers.' *Policing,* 5(4), pp.356-364. DOI: 10.1093/police/par043

Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2015) *Business Research Methods.* (4th ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bullock, K. and Garlan, J. (2018) 'Police officers, mental (ill-) health and spoiled identity.' *Crominology & Criminal Justice,* 18(2), pp. 173-189.

Burrell, G, and Morgan, G. (1979) *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Carr, E.M., Zhang, G.D, Ming, J(H). and Siddiqui, Z.S. (2019) 'Qualitative research: An overview of emerging approaches for data collection.' *Australian Psychiatry,* 27(3), pp. 307-309.

Chapman, D. (2009) Emotional Labor in the context of policing in Victoria: a preliminary analysis.' International Journal of Police Science and Management, 11(4) pp. 476-492.

Charman, S. (2017) *Police Socialisation, Identity and Culture. Becoming Blue.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chu, L-C. (2014) 'The moderating role of authoritarian leadership on the relationship between the internalization of emotional regulation and the well-being of employees.' *Leadership,* 10(3), pp. 326-343.

Colbran, M. (2014) *Media Representations of Police and Crime. Shaping the Police Television Drama*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

College of Policing (2014) *Code of Ethics. A Code of Practice for the Principles and Standards of Professional Behaviour for the Policing Profession of England and Wales.* Coventry: College of Policing Ltd. [Online] [Accessed on 7th February 2019] https://www.college.police.uk/What-we-do/Ethics/Documents/Code_of_Ethics.pdf

Colley, H. (2006) 'Learning to Labour with Feeling: class, gender and emotion in childcare education and training.' *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood,* 7(1) pp. 15 - 29.

Cooper, D.E. and Fosl, P.S. (2010) *Philosophy The Classical Readings.* Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Cottingham, M. D., Johnson, A. H., & Erickson, R. J. 2018 "I Can Never Be Too Comfortable": Race, Gender, and Emotion at the Hospital Bedside. Qualitative Health Research, *28*(1), 145–158.

Creswell, J.W. (2015) *A Concise Introduction to Mixed Methods Research.* California: SAGE Publication, Inc.

Creswell, J.W., Plano Clark, V.L., Gutmann, M.L., and Hanson, W.E. (2003) Advanced Mixed Methods Research Designs. *In* Tashakkori and Teddlie, C. (Eds), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research,* pp. 209-240. California: SAGE Publications Inc.

Crozier, S.E., and Cassell, C.M. (2015) 'Methodological considerations in the use of audio diaries in work psychology: Adding to the qualitative toolkit.' *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology,* 89(2) pp. 396-419.

Cummins, I. and King, M. (2017) 'Drowning in here in his bloody sea': exploring TV cop drama's representations of the impact of stress in modern policing'. *Policing and Society,* 27(8) pp. 832-846.

Cummins, I.D., Foley, M. and King, M. (2014) '"... And After the Break": Police Officers' Views of TV Crime Drama.' *Policing: A journal of police and practice* 8(2) pp. 205-211.

Daus, C. S. and Brown, S. 2012 Chapter 11 The Emotion Work of Police. *In* Experiencing and Managing Emotions in the Workplace. Vol. 8. Emerald Group Publishing Limited, pp. 305-328.

Dehaghani, R. and Newman, D. (2017) '"We're vulnerable too": an (alternative) analysis of vulnerability within English criminal legal aid and police custody.' *Onati Socio-legal Series,* 7(6), pp. 1199-1228.

Dehagnhani, R. (2019) *Vulnerability in police custody. Police decision making and the appropriate adult safeguard.* Oxon: Routledge.

Dick, P.K. (1969, 1996) *Do androids dream of electric sheep.* Harper Collins: London.

Diefendorff, J.M., Grandey, A.A. and Dahling, J.J. (2011) 'Emotional Display Rules as Work Unit Norms: A Multilevel Analysis of Emotional Labor Among Nurses.' *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology,* 16(2) 170-186.

Dima, G. and Bucuta, M.D. (2016) 'The method of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis in psychodrama research.' *Zeitschrift fur Psychodrama und Soziometrie,* 15 pp. 69-81.

Dowler, K. and Zawilski, V. (2007) 'Public perceptions of police misconduct and discrimination: Examining the impact of media consumption.' *Journal of Criminal Justice,* 35 pp. 193-203.

Dreyfus, H.L. (1996) 'Being and Power: Heidegger and Foucault.' *International Journal of Philosophical Studies,* 4(1) pp. 1-16.

Dudau, A. and Brunetto, Y. (2019) 'Debate: Managing emotional labour in the public sector.' *Public Money & Manaement,* 40(1), pp. 11-13.

Dugdale, J. (2016) 'Bestselling books 2016: the ghost of Christmas charts past.' *The Guardian.* [Online] 31st December [Accessed on 29th December 2017] https://www.theguardian.com/books/2016/dec/31/bestselling-books-2016-analysis-ghost-christmas-past?CMP=share_btn_link

Dunn, J.G.H. 1994 Toward the combined use of nomothetic and idiographic methodologies in sport psychology: an empirical example'. The Sport Psychologist, 8(4) pp. 376-392. DOI: 10.1123/tsp.8.4.376

Dyer, R. (1993) *The Matter of Images. Essays on Representations*. London: Routledge.

Edwards, P.K., O'Mahoney, J. and Vincent, S. 2014 Studying Organizations Using Critical Realism: A Practical Guide. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eisenhardt, K.M. and Graebner, M.E. (2007) 'Theory Building from Cases: Opportunities and Challenges.' *Academy of Management Journal,* 50(1) pp. 25 - 32.

Elliott, J. 2005 Using narrative in social research: qualitative and quantitative approaches. London: SAGE Publication Ltd.

Engelhardt, A. (2015) 'The sociology of knowledge approach of discourse analysis in innovation research: evaluation of innovations in contemporary fine art.' *Historical Social Research,* 40(3) pp. 130-160.

Erickson, R.J. and Ritter, C., 2001. Emotional Labor, burnout, and inauthenticity: Does gender matter? Social Psychology Quarterly, 64(2) pp.146-163.

Farmer, T., Robinson, K., Elliott, S.J. and Eyles, J. (2006) 'Developing and Implementing a Triangulation Protocol for Qualitative Health Research.' *Qualitative Health Research,* 16(3) pp. 377-394.

Fawkes, J. (2015) 'Performance and Persona: Goffman and Jung's approaches to professional identity applied to public relations.' *Public Relations Review,* 41(5) pp. 675-680.

Feeny, N.C., Zoellner, L.A., Fitzgibbons, L.A. and Foa, E.B. (2000) 'Exploring the roles of emotional numbing, depression, and dissociation in PTSD.' *Journal of Traumatic Stress,* 13(3) pp. 489-498.

Festinger, L. (1962) *A theory of cognitive dissonance.* London: Tavistock Publications.

Fineman, S. (2003) *Understanding Emotion At Work.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Ford, R. 2018 Stressed out and depressed: 10,000 police take sick leave.' The Times [Online] 6 July. [Accessed on 10th June 2019] https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/stressed-out-and-depressed-10-000-police-take-sick-leave-kp5l8c22p

Foucault, M. (1986) 'Disciplinary Power and Subjection.' *In* Lukes, S. (ed.) *Power.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd. pp. 229-242.

Fouquereau, E., Morin, A. J., Lapointe, É., Mokounkolo, R., & Gillet, N. (2019) 'Emotional labour profiles: Associations with key predictors and outcomes.' *Work & Stress*, *33*(3), pp. 268-294.

Fraser, H. (2004) 'Doing Narrative Research'. *Qualitative Social Work,* 3(2) pp. 179-201.

Frewin, K., Stephens, C. and Tuffin, K. (2006) 'Re-arranging Fear: Police Officer's Discursive Constructions of Emotion.' *Policing and Society,* 16(3), pp. 243-260.

Fritscher, L. (2019) *Depersonalization/Derealization Disorder Symptoms.* 20th June. Very Well Mind [Online] [Accessed on 30th June 2019] https://www.verywellmind.com/derealization-2671582

Gabb, J. (2009) 'Researching family relationships: a qualitative mixed methods approach'. *Methodological Innovations Online,* 4(2) pp. 37-52.

Geanellos, R. (1998) 'Hermeneutic philosophy. Part I: implications of its use as a methodology in interpretative nursing research.' *Nursing Inquiry,* 5, pp. 154-163.

Gee, J.P. (2014) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. Theory and Method.* (4th Ed.) London: Routledge.

Gergen, K.J. (1999) *An Invitation To Social Construction.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Goleman, D. (1996) *Emotional Intelligence. Why it can matter more than IQ.* London: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.

Golembiewski, R.T. and Kim, B-S. 1990 Burnout in Police Work: Stressors, Strain, and the Phase Model.' Police Studies, 13(2) pp. 74-80.

Gorard, S. (2010) Research Design, as Independent of Methods. *In* Tashakkori and Teddlie, C. (Eds), SAGE *Handbook of mixed methods in social & behavioural research,* pp. 237-252. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Grandey, A. A. (2000) 'Emotion Regulation in the Workplace: A New Way to Conceptualise Emotional Labour.' *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology,* 5(1) pp. 95-110.

Grandey, A. A., Rupp, D. and Brice, W. N. (2015) Emotional Labor threatens decent work: A proposal to eradicate emotional display rules. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 36(6), pp. 770-785.

Grandey, A.A. (2003) 'When "The Show Must Go On": Surface Acting and Deep Acting as Determinants of Emotional Exhaustion and Peer-Rated Service Delivery.' *The Academy of Management Journal,* 46(1) pp. 86-96.

Grandey, A.A. and Sayre, G.M. (2019) 'Emotional labor: Regulating emotions for a wage. *Current Directions in Psychological Science,* 28(2), pp. 131-137.

Grandey, A.A., Dickter, D.N. and Sin, H.P. (2004) 'The customer is not always right: customer aggression and emotion regulation of service employees.' Journal of Organisational Behaviour, 25, pp. 397-418.

Grandey, A.A., Rupp, D. and Brice, W.N. (2015) 'Emotional labour threatens decent work: A proposal to eradicate emotional display rules.' *Journal of Organizational Behaviour,* 36 pp. 770-785.

Griffin, S.P. and Bernard, T.J. (2003) 'Angry Aggression Among Police Officers.' *Police Quarterly,* 6(1), pp. 3-21.

Gutting, G. (2005) *Foucault A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guy, M., Newman, M. A. and Mastracci, S. H. 2008 *Emotional Labor Putting The Service In Public Service.* New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc.

Guy, M.E., Newman, M.A. and Ganapati, N.E. (2012) 'Managing emotions while managing crises.' *International Journal of Emergency Services,* 2(1), pp. 6 - 20.

Haslam, S.A. (2014) 'Making good theory practical: Five lessons for an Applied Social Identity Approach to challenges of organizational, health and clinical psychology', *British Journal of Social Psychology,* 53 pp. 1-20.

Hawkins, H.C. (2001) 'Police Officer Burnout: A Partial Replication of Maslach's Burnout Inventory.' *Police Quarterly,* 4(3), pp. 343-360.

Health and Safety at Work Act 1974 (c.2) London: HMSO.

Heffren, C. D. J. and Hausdorf, P. A. (2016) Post-traumatic effects in policing: perceptions, stigmas and help seeking behaviours. Police Practice and Research, 17(5) pp. 420-433.

Hochschild, A.R. (1979) 'Emotion work, feeling rules and social structure.' *American Journal of Sociology,* 85(3) pp.1-33.

Hochschild, A.R. (1983/2003) *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling.* London: University of California Press.

Hóijer, B. (2011) 'Social Representations Theory. A New Theory for Media Research.' *Nordicom Review,* 32(2) pp. 3-16.

Holt, N., and Dunn, J.G.H. (2004) 'Longitudinal idiographic analyses of appraisal and coping responses in sport.' *Psychology of Sport and Exercise,* 5, pp. 213-222.

Holtgraves, T. and Stockdale, G. (1997) 'The assessment of dissociative experiences in a non-clinical population: reliability, validity, and factor structure of the dissociative experiences scale.' *Personality and Individual Differences,* 22(5), pp. 699-706.

Hood, R. (2016) 'Combining phenomenological and critical methodologies in qualitative research.' *Qualitative Social Work,* 15(2), pp. 160-174.

Hornidge, A-K., Keller, R. and Schunemann, W.J. (2018) 'Introduction. The sociology o knowledge approach to discourse in an interdependent world.' *In* Keller, R., Hornidge, A-K. and Schunenmann, W.J. (ed) *The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Investigating the Politics of Knowledge and Meaning-Making.* Oxon: Routhledge, pp. 1-15.

Hornsby, R. (2017) *What Heidegger Means by Being-in-the-World.* Royby.com. [Online] [Accessed on 13th March 2017] http://www.royby.com/philosophy/pages/dasein.html

Houdmont, J. (2013) 'UK police custody officers' psychosocial hazard exposures and burnout.' *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management,* 36, pp. 620-635.

Houdmont, J., Elliot-Davies, M. and Donnelly, J. (2019) 'Single crewing in English and Welsh policing frequency and associations with violence towards and injuries in officers.' *Policing and Society,* 29(7), pp. 820-833.

Howard, C., Tuffin, K. and Stephens, C. (2000) 'Unspeakable Emotion. A Discursive Analysis of Police Talk about Reactions to Trauma.' *Journal of Language and Social Psychology,* 19, pp. 295-314.

Huey, L. (2010) '"I've seen this on CSI": Criminal investigators' perceptions about the management of public expectations in the field.' *Crime Media Culture,* 6(1) pp. 49-68.

Huey, L. and Broll, R. (2012) '"All it takes is one TV show to ruin it": a police perspective on police - media relations in the era of expanding prime time crime markets.' *Policing and Society,* 22(4) pp. 384-396.

Hülsheger, U.R. and Schewe, A.F. (2011) 'On the costs and benefits of emotional labor: A meta-analysis of three decades of research.' *Journal of occupational health psychology*, 16(3) pp.361-389.

Hume, H. (2019) 'It will get worse before it gets better' – concern over level of mental health sick leave at Suffolk police.' *East Anglican Daily Times.* [Online] 14th October. [10th December 2019] https://www.eadt.co.uk/news/suffolk-police-mental-health-sick-days-1-6320606

Humphrey, R.H., Ashforth, B.E. and Diefendorff, J.M. (2015) 'The bright side of emotional labor'. *Journal of Organizational Behaviour,* 36 pp. 749-769.

IMDbPro (no date) Box *Office Mojo: British Box Office For 2016.* Internet Movie Database [Online] 29th December 2017 http://www.boxofficemojo.com/intl/uk/yearly/?yr=2016&p=.htm

Innes, M. (2003) 'Signal Crimes: detective work', mass media and constructing collective memory.' *In* Mason, P. (ed) *Criminal Visions. Media representations of crime and justice.* Devon: Willian Publishing, pp. 51 - 69.

Iwanicki, E.F. and Schwab, R.L. (1981) A Cross Validation Study of the Maslach Burnout Inventory.' Educational and Psychological Measurement, 41(4) pp. 1167 – 1174.

Jennings, W.G., Fridell, L.A. and Lynch, M.D., 2014. Cops and cameras: Officer perceptions of the use of body-worn cameras in law enforcement. *Journal of criminal justice*, *42*(6), pp.549-556.

Jeung, D-Y., Kim, C. and Chang, S-J. (2018) 'Emotional Labor and Burnout: A Review of the Literature.' *Yonsei Medical Journal,* 59(2) pp. 187-193.

Johnson, R.B., Onwuegbuzie, A.J. and Turner, L.A. 2007 Toward a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1(2) pp. 112 – 133. DOI: 10.1177/1558689806298224

Jorgensen, D.L. (1989) The methodology of participant observation. *In* Jorgensen, D.L. *Applied Social Research Methods:Participant Observation,* pp. 12-24. California: SAGE Publications Inc.

Kafle, N.P. (2011) 'Hermeneutic phenomenological research method simplified.' *Bodhi: An Interdisciplinary Journal,* 5 pp. 181 - 200.

Karp, M. (2010) *Introduction to Psychodrama.* [Online] [Accessed on 26th November 2018] http://www.marciakarp.org/

Keller, R. (2006) 'Analysing discourse: an approach from the sociology of knowledge.' *Historical Social Resarch,* 31(2), 223-242.

Keller, R. (2011) 'The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD).' *Human Studies,* 34 pp. 43 - 65.

Keller, R. (2018) Sociology of knowledge approach to discourse. *In* Keller, R. Hornridge, A-J. and Schunemann, W.F. (Eds) *The Sociology Of Knowledge Approach To Discourse. Investigating the Politics of Knowledge and Meaning-Making,* pp. 16-47. Oxon: Routledge.

Keller, R. (2018[1]) 'Sociology of knowledge approach to discourse.' *In* Keller, R., Hornidge, A-K. and Schunenmann, W.J. (ed) *The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Investigating the Politics of Knowledge and Meaning-Making.* Oxon: Routhledge, pp. 16-47.

Keller, R. (2018[2]) 'The social construction of value.' *In* Keller, R., Hornidge, A-K. and Schunenmann, W.J. (ed) *The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse Investigating the Politics of Knowledge and Meaning-Making.* Oxon: Routhledge, pp. 74-90.

Kellermann, P.F. (1992) *Focus on Psychodrama. The Therapeutic Aspects of Psychodrama.* London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers Ltd.

Kenneday-Moore, E. and Watson, J.C. (2001) 'How and When Does Emotional Expression Help?' *Review of General Psychology,* 5(3) 187-212.

Kenworthy, J., Fay, C., Frame, M. and Petree, R. (2014) 'A meta-analytical review or the relationship between emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion'. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 44 pp. 94-105.

Kidwell, M. 2006 ''Calm down!': the role of gaze in the interactional management of hysteria by the police.' Discourse Studies, 8(6) pp. 745-770.

Kinman, G., Wray, S. and Strange, C. (2011) 'Emotional Labour, burnout and job satisfaction in UK teachers: the role of workplace social support.' *Educational Psychology,* 31(7) pp. 843-856.

Kinsella, E.A. (2006) 'Hermeneutics and Critical Hermeneutics: Exploring Possibilites Within the Art of Interpretation.' *Qualitative Social Research,* 7(3). [Online] [Accessed on 20th April 2017] http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0603190

Kleres, J. 2010 Emotions and Narrative Analysis: A Methodological Approach. Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior, 41:2 pp. 182 – 203. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-5914.2010.00451.x

Koch, T. and Harrington, A. (1998) 'Reconceptualizing rigour: the case for reflexivity.' *Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 28(4) pp. 882-890.

Kwak, H., McNeeley, S. and Kim, S-H. (2018) 'Emotional Labor, Role Characteristics, and Police Officer Burnout in South Korea: The Meidating Effect of Emotional Dissonance.' *Police Quarterly,* 21(2) pp. 223-249.

Langer, P.c. (2016) 'The Research Vignette: Reflexive Writing as Interpretative Representation of Qualitative Inquiry - A Methodological Proposition.' *Qulitative Inquiry,* 22(9) pp. 735-744.

Lanius, R.A., and Bluhm, R., Lanius, U. and Pain, C. (2006) 'A review of neuroimaging studies in PTSD: heterogeneity of response to symptom provocation.' *Journal of Psychiatric Research,* 40 pp. 709-729.

Lanius, R.A., Vermetten, E., Loewenstein, R.J., Brand, B., Schmahl, C., Bremmer, J.d. and Spiegel, D. (2010) 'Emotion Modulation in PTSD: Clinical and Neurobiological Evidence for Dissociative Subtype.' *American Journal of Psychiatry,* 167 pp. 640-647.

Latham, A. (2003) 'Research, performance and doing human geography: Some reflections on the diary-photograph, diary-interview method.' *Environment and Planning,* 35, pp. 1993-2017.

Lavee, E. and Strier, R. (2018) 'Social workers' emotional labour with families in poverty: Neoliberal fatigue?' *Child & Family Social Work*, *23*(3), pp.504-512.

Laverty, S.M. (2003) 'Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Phenomenology: A Comparison of Historical and Methodological Considerations'. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 2(3) pp. 21-35.

Lawler, S. (2002) 'Narrative is Social Research' *In* May, T. (ed) *Qualitative Research in Action,* pp. 242-258.

Lazarus, R.S. (1999) *Stress and Emotion a New Synthesis.* London: Springer Publishing.

Lazarus, R.S. 2006 Emotions and Interpersonal Relationships: Toward a Person-Centered Conceptualization of Emotions and Coping. Journal of Personality, 74(1) pp. 9-45.

Lee, R. and Ashforth, B., (1990) On the Meaning of Maslach's Three Dimensions of Burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *75*(6), pp.743-747.

Lee, R. and Ashforth, B., (1990) On the Meaning of Maslach's Three Dimensions of Burnout. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *75*(6), pp.743-747.

Lee, S.A. (1991) 'Integrating Positivist and Interpretive Approaches to Organizational Research'. *Organization Science,* 2(4) pp. 342 - 365.

Leishman, F. and Mason, P. (2003) *Policing and the Media. Facts, fictions and factions*. Devon: Willian Publishing.

Lennie, S. J. (2020, forthcoming). Caring and Coping: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Lecturer's Emotional Labour in the context of higher education commercialisation and the consequences for staff and student well-being. In M. Antoniadou and M. Crowder (Eds). *Modern Day Challenges in Academia: Time for a Change.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, Chapter 13.

Lennie, SJ. (2018) 'Policing parenting: Psychological challenges for officers and their families.' *International Journal of Birth and Parent Education,* 5(4) pp. 4-6.

Lennie, SJ., Crozier, S.E. and Sutton, A. (2019 in press) 'Robocop – The depersonalisation of police officers and their emotions: A diary study of emotional labor and burnout in front line British police officers.' *International Journal of Law Crime and Justice.*

Lerner, J.S., Li, Y., Valdesolo, P. and Kassam, K.S. 'Emotion and Decision Making.' *Annual Review of Psychology,* 66, pp. 799-823.

Lewis, P. 2000 Realism, causality and the problem of social structure. Journal for the theory of social behavior, 30(3) pp. 249-268. DOI: 10.1111/1468-5914.00129

Loader, I. (1999) 'Consumer culture and the commodification of policing and security.' *Sociology,* 33(2), pp. 373-392.

Loftus, B, (2010) 'Police occupational culture: classic themes, altered times.' *Policing and Society,* 20(1), pp. 1-20.

Lukes, S. (1974) *Power A Radical View.* London: The Macmillian Press Ltd.

Lumsden, K. and Black, A. (2018) Austerity policing, emotional labor and the boundaries of police work: an ethnography of a police force control room in England. The British Journal of Criminology, 58(3), pp. 606-623.

Lundin, R.M., Bashir, K., Bullock, A., Kostov, C.E., Mattick, K.L., Rees, C.E. and Monrouxe, L.V. (2018) '"I'd been like freaking out the whole night": exploring emotion regulation based on junior doctors' narratives.' *Advances in Health Sciences Education,* 23(1) pp. 7-28.

MacEachern, A.D., Dennis, A.A., Jackson, S. and Jindal-Snape, D. (2018) 'Secondary Traumatic Stress: Prevalence and Symptomology Amongst Detective Officers Investigating Child Protection Cases.' *Journal of Police and Criminal Psychology,* pp. 1-10.

Maguire, B. (1988) 'Image Vs. Reality: An Analysis of Prime-Time Television Crime and Police Programs.' *Crime and Justice,* XI(1) pp. 165-188.

Mallet, O. and Wapshott, R. (2012) 'Mediating ambiguity: Narrative identity and knowledge workers.' *Scandinavian Journal of Management,* 28 pp. 16-26.

Mankell, H. (2002) *Faceless Killers.* London: Random House.

Marmar, C. R., Weiss, D. S., Metzler, T. J., Ronfeldt, H. M., & Foreman, C. (1996). 'Stress responses of emergency services personnel to the Loma Prieta Earthquake Interstate 880 Freeway collapse and control traumatic incidents.' *Journal of Traumatic Stress,* 9, 63–85.

Marshall, J. (2008) 'Finding Form in Writing for Action Research' *In* Reason, P. and Bradbury, H. (eds) *the SAGE Handbook of Action Research. Participative Inquiry and Practice'.* London: SAGE Publication Ltd, pp. 682-694.

Martin, S. E. (1999) 'Police Force or Police Service? Gender and Emotional Labor.' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 561 pp. 111 - 126.

Maslach, C. and Jackson, S.E. 1979 Burned-Out Cops and their Families. Psychology Today, 12 pp. 58-62.

Maslach, C. and Jackson, S.E. 1981 The Measurement of Experienced Burnout. Journal of Occupational Behavior, 2(2) pp. 99-113.

Maslach, C. and Leiter, M.P. (2016) 'Chapter 43 - Burnout.' *In* Fink, G. (ed.) *Stress: Concepts, Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior: Handbook of Stress series.* 1, pp. 351-357, Academic Press.

Maslach, C. and Leiter, M.P., (2016) Burnout. In *Stress: Concepts, Cognition, Emotion, and Behavior* (pp. 351-357). Academic Press.

Maslach, C., Jackson, S. E., Leiter, M. P., Schaufeli, W. B., & Schwab, R. L. 1986 Maslach Burnout Inventory (Vol. 21, pp. 3463-3464). Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Maslach, C., Jackson, S.E. and Leiter, M.P. 1996 Maslach Burnout Inventory Manual. (3rd ed.) California: Consulting Psychological Press.

Mason, J. (2006) 'Mixing methods in a qualitatively driven way.' *Qualitative Research,* 6(1) pp. 9-25.

Mason, J. (2018) *Qualitative Researching.* 3rd ed., London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Mawby, R.C. (2003) 'Completing the 'half-formed picture'? Media images of policing.' *In* Mason, P. (ed) *Criminal Visions. Media representations of crime and justice.* Devon: Willian Publishing, pp. 214 - 237.

May, T. (2002) 'Introduction.' *In* May, T. (ed.) *Qualitative Research in Action.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 1 - 14.

Mayer, J.D., Salovey, P. and Caruso, D.R. (2004) 'Emotional Intelligence: Theory, Findings, and Implications.' *Psychological Inquiry,* 15(3) pp. 197-215.

McAdams, D.P. (2012) 'Exploring Psychological Themes Through Life-Narrative Accounts.' *In* Holstein, J.A. and Gubrium, J.F. (eds.) *Varieties of Narrative Analysis,* pp. 15-32. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Mertens, D.M. (2003) Mixed Methods and the Politics of Human Research: The Transformative-Emancipatory Perspective. *In* Tashakkori and Teddlie, C. (Eds), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research,* pp. 135-166. California: SAGE Publications Inc.

Meth, P. and McClymont, K. (2009) 'Researching men: the politics and possibilities of a qualitative mixed-methods approach.' *Social and Cultural Geography,* 10(8) pp. 909-925.

Miller, J. and Burchell, B. (2019) 'One in five suffer with a form of PTSD, research finds.' *Police Care UK.* [Online] No date of publication. [Accessed 10th June 2019] https://policecare.org.uk/one-in-five-suffer-with-a-form-of-ptsd-research-finds/]

Miller, L.J. (2000) 'The Poverty of Truth-Seeking. Postmodernism, Discourse Analysis and Critical Feminism.' *Theory and Psychology,* 10(3) pp. 313-352.

Monrouxe, L.V. (2009) 'Solicited audio diaries in longitudinal narrative research: a view from inside.' *Qualitative Research,* 9(1) pp. 81-103.

Monrouxe, L.V. 2009 Negotiating professional identities: dominant and contesting narratives in medical students' longitudinal audio diaries.' Current Narratives, 1(5) pp. 41 – 59.

Moore, L.D. (2006) *Cracking the Hard-Boiled Detective. A critical history from the 1920's to the present.* McFarland and Company Publishers: North Carolina

Morris, A.J. and Feldman, D.C. (1996) 'The Dimensions, Antecedents, and Consequences of Emotional Labour.' *The Academy of Management Review,* 21(4) pp. 986-1010.

Morse, J.M. (2003) Principles of mixed methods and multimethod research design. *In* Tashakkori and Teddlie, C. (Eds), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research,* pp. 189-208. California: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Morse, J.M. (2010) 'Simultaneous and Sequential Qualitative Mixed Method Designs.' *Qualitative Inquiry,* 16(6), pp. 483-491.

Mumby, D.K. and Putnam, L.L. (1992) 'The Politics of Emotion: a Feminist reading of Bounded Rationality.' *Academy of Management Review,* 17(3) pp. 465-486.

Murray, J., Ehlers, A. and Mayou, R.A. (2002) 'Dissociation and post-traumatic stress disorder: two prospective studies of road traffic accident survivors.' *British Journal of Psychiatry,* 180 pp. 363-368.

Myers, M. (2013) *Qualitative Research in Business & Management.* 2nd ed., London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Myers, M.D. and Klein, H.K. (2011) 'A Set of Principles for Conducting Critical Research in Information Systems'. *Management Information Systems Quarterly,* 35(1) pp. 17-36.

National Police Improvement Agency (2007) *Airwave Speak User Guide* London: National Police Improvement Agency. [Online] [Accessed on 30th June 2019] http://library.college.police.uk/docs/npia/AirwaveSpeak-National-User-Guide-2007.pdf

Némedi, D. (1995) 'Collective Consciousness, Morphology, and Collective Representations: Durkeim's Sociology of Knowledge, 1984-1900.' *Sociological Perspectives,* 38(1) pp. 41-56.

Nepal, V.P. (2010) 'On Mixing Qualitative Methods.' *Qualitative Health Research,* 20(2) pp. 281.

Niven, K., Sprigg, C.A., and Armitage, C.J. 2003 Does emotion regulation protect employees from the negative effects of workplace aggression? European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology, 22(1) pp. 88-106.

Nook, E.C., Schleider, J.L., and Somerville, L.H. 2017 A Linguistic Signature of Psychological Distancing in Emotion Regulation. American Psychological Association, 146(3) pp. 337-346. DOI: 10.1037/xge0000263

Ogbonna, E. and Harris, L.H. (2004) 'Work Intensification and Emotional Labour Among UK University Lecturers: An Exploratory Study.' *Organiszation Studies,* 25(7), pp. 1185-1203.

Orlikowski, W.J. and Baroudi, J.J. (1991) 'Studying Information Technology in Organizations: Research Approaches and Assumptions.' *Information Systems Research,* 2(1) pp. 1 - 28.

Parkes, R., Graham-Kevan, N. and Bryce, J. (2012) 'I put my "police head" on: Coping strategies for working with sexual offending material.' *Police Journal: Theory Practice and Principles,* pp. 1-27.

Parkes, R., Graham-Kevan, N. and Bryce, J. (2018) 'You don't see the world through the same eyes any more: The impact of sexual offending work on police staff.' *The Police Journal: Theory, Practice and Principles,* pp. 1-23.

Pennebaker, J.W. (1993) 'Putting stress into words: health, linguistic, and therapeutic implications.' *Behaviour Research and Therapy,* 31(6) pp. 539-548.

Pennebaker, J.W. 1997 Writing about Emotional Experiences as a Therapeutic Process. Psychological Science, 8(3) pp. 162 - 166. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9280.1997.tb00403.x

Pennebaker, J.W. and O'Heeron, R.C. (1984) 'Confiding in Others and Illness Rate Among Spouses of Suicide and Accidental-Death Victims, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology,* 93(4) pp. 473-476.

Pennebaker, J.W. and Seagal, J.D. (1999) 'Forming a story: The health benefits of narrative.' *Journal of Clinical Psychology,* 55 pp. 1243-254.

Perlmutter, R. (2000) *Policing the Media: Street Cops and Public Perceptions of Law Enforcement*. London: SAGE Ltd.

Phillips, C.B., Dwan, K., Hepworth, J., Pearce, C., and Hall, S. (2014) 'Using qualitative mixed methods to study small health care organizations while maximising trustworthiness and authenticity.' *BMC Health Services Research,* 14(559) pp. 1-13.

Pisaniello, S.L., Winefield, H.R. and Delfabbro, P.H. (2012) The influence of emotional Labor and emotional work on the occupational health and wellbeing of South Australian hospital nurses. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 80 pp. 579-591. DOI: 10.1016/j.jvb.2012.01.015

Pogrebin, M. R. and Poole, E.D. (1991) Police and tragic events: the management of emotions. Journal of Criminal Justice, 19 pp. 395-403. DOI: 10.1016/0047-2352(91)90036-U

Pogrebin, M.R. and Poole, E.D. (1988) 'Humor in the briefing room: A study of the strategic uses of humor among police.' *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 17(2), pp. 183-210.

Police Reform Act 2002 (c. 30) London: HMSO.

Rafaeli, A. and Sutton, R.I. (1987) 'Expression of Emotion as Part of the Work Role.' *The Academy of Management Review,* 12(1) pp. 23-37.

Rafaeli, A. and Sutton, R.I. (1991) 'Emotional Contrast Strategies as Means of Social Influence: Lessons from Criminal Interrogators and Bill Collectors.' *The Academy of Management Journal,* 34(4) pp. 749-775.

Rantatalo, O. (2016) 'Media representations and police officers' identity work in a specialised police tactical unit.' *Policing and Society,* 26(1) pp. 97-113.

Rees, B., and Smith, J. (2007) 'Breaking the silence: the traumatic circle of policing.' *International Journal of Police Science and Management,* 10(3), pp. 267 – 279.

Reicher, S., Spears, R. and Haslam, S.A. (2010) The Social Identity Approach in Social Psychology *In* (Eds) Wetherell, M. and Mohanty, C.T. *The SAGE Handbook of Identities,* pp. 45-62. SAGE Publications Ltd. [Online] [Accessed on 20th November 2018] https://sk.sagepub.com/reference/hdbk_identities/n4.xml

Reiner, R (2010) *The politics of the police*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reiner, R (2012) 'Policing and the Media'. *In* Newburn, T. (ed.) *Handbook of Policing* 2nd ed., London: Routledge, pp.313-332.

Reiner, R. (2002) 'Media Made Criminality. The representation of crime in the mass media. *In* Reiner, R., Maguire, M. and Morgan, R. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 302-340.

Reiner, R. (2010) *The politics of the police.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Resick, P.A., Suvak, M.K., Johnides, B.D., Mitchell, K.S. and Iverson, K.M. (2012) 'The impact of dissociation on PTSD treatment with cognitive processing therapy.' *Depression and Anxiety,* 29 pp. 718-730.

Riach, K. (2009) 'Exploring Particiapnt-centred Reflexivity in the Research Interview.' *Sociology,* 43(2) pp. 356-370.

Riessman, C.K. (1993) Narrative Analysis. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Riessman, C.K. (2003) 'Analysis of personal narratives.' *Inside interviewing: New lenses, new concerns,* pp. 331-346.

Riley R. and Weiss, M.C. (2016) 'A qualitative thematic review: emotional labour in health care settings'. *The Journal of Advanced Nursing,* 72(1) pp. 6-17.

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., Elam, G., Tennant, R. and Rahim, N. 2014 Designing and selecting samples. *In* Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. (eds) Qualitative Research Practice. 2nd ed., London: SAGE Publications Ltd. pp. 112 - 145.

Ross, R., Banik, G., Dedova, M., Mikulaskova, G. and Armour, C. (2018) 'Assessing the structure and meaningfulness of the dissociative subtype of PTSD.' *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology,* 53 (1) pp. 87-97.

Roulston, K. (2010) *Reflective Interviewing. A Guide to Theory & Practice.* SAGE Publications Ltd.

Rynes, S.L. (2007) 'Editors Form on Rich Research: Editor's Forward'. *Academy of Management Journal,* 50(13) pp. 13 - 14.

Salovey, P. and Mayer, J.D. (1990) 'Emotional Intelligence.' *Imagination, Cognition, and Personality,* 9 pp. 185-211.

Sargeant, S. and Gross, H. (2011) 'Young People Learning to Live With Inflammatory Bowel Disease: Working With an "Unclosed" Diary.' *Qualitative Health Research,* 21(10) pp. 1360-1370.

Schaible, L. M. and Six, M. (2016) 'Emotional Strategies of Police and Their Varying Consequences for Burnout.' *Police Quarterly*, 19(1) pp. 3-31.

Schaible, L.M. (2018) 'The impact of the police professional identity on burnout', *Policing: An International Journal,* 41(1) pp. 129-143.

Schaible, L.M. and Gecas, V. 2010 The Impact of Emotional Labor and Value Dissonance on Burnout among Police Officers'. Police Quarterly, 13(3) pp.316-341. DOI: 10.1177/1098611110373997

Schaubroeck, J. and Jones, J.R. (2000) 'Antecedents of Workplace Emotional Labour Dimensions and Moderators of their Effects on Physical Symptoms.' *Journal of Organizational Behavior,* 21(2) pp. 163-183.

Schaufeli, W.B. (2006), "The balance of give and take: toward a social exchange model of burnout", The International Review of Social Psychology, Vol. 19, pp. 87-131

Schaufeli, W.B., Leiter, M.P. and Maslach, C. (2009) 'Burnout: 35 years of research and practice.' *Career Development International,* 14(3), pp. 204-220.

Schaufeli, W.B., Taris, T.W. and van Rhenen, W. (2008) 'Workaholism, Burnout, and Work Engagement: Three of a Kind of Three Different Kinds of Employee Well-being?' *Applied Psychology: An International Review,* 57(2), pp. 173-203.

Schon, D.A. (2017) *The reflective practitioner: how professionals think in action.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Schwandt, T. A. (ed.) (2011) *The SAGE Dictionary of Qualitative Inquiry.* SAGE Publications Ltd. [Online] [Accessed on 20th April 2017] http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/97814129862681.n148

Sharp, A.G. (2000) 'The importance of role-playing in training.' *Law & Order,* 48(6), pp. 97.

Shuler, S. and Sypher, B.D. (2000) 'Seeking Emotional Labor. When managing the heart enhances the work experience.' *Management Communication Quarterly,* 14(1) pp. 50-89.

Silverman, D. (2006) *Interpreting Qualitative Data.* 3rd Ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Smith, B.A. (1999) 'Ethical and Methodologic Benefits of Using a Reflexive Journal in Hermeneutic-Phenomenologic Research.' *Image: Journal of Nursing Scholarship,* 31(4) pp. 359-363.

Smith, M.L. 2006 Over coming theory-practices inconsistencies: Critical Realism and information systems research. Information and Organization, 16 pp. 191-211. DOI: 10.1016/j.infoandorg.2005.10.003

Sokal, A.D. (1996) 'Transgressing the boundaries: Toward a transformative hermeneutics of quantum gravity.' *Social Text,* 46/47 pp. 217-252.

Souto-Manning, M. (2014) 'Critical narrative analysis: the interplay of critical discourse and narrative analysis.' *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 27(2) pp. 159-180.

Spencer, L., Ritchie, J., O'Connor, W., Morrell, G. and Ormston, R. 2014 Analysis in practice. *In* Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. (eds) Qualitative Research Practice. 2nd ed., London: SAGE Publications Ltd. pp. 295 - 345.

Spielberger, C.D., Grier, K.S. and Pate, J.M. (1980) 'The Police Stress Survey.' *Fraternal Order of Police Journal,* pp. 66-68.

Spinelli, E. (2005) *The interpreted world. An introduction to phenomenological psychology.'* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Stafford, A.B. (2016) 'What matters to the public when they call the police? Insights from a call centre.' *Policing and Society,* 26(4), pp. 375-392.

Steinberg, R.J. and Figart, D.M. (1999) 'Emotional Labour Since the Managed Heart.' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* 561, pp. 8-26.

Steiner, S. (2016) *Missing, Presumed.* London: Harper Collins Publishers.

Stenross, B. and Kleinman, S. (1989) 'The Highs and Lows of Emotional Labor: Detectives' encounters with criminals and vitims.' *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography,* 17(4), 435-452.

Stephens, C. and Long, N. 1998 Communication with police supervisors and peers as a buffer of work related traumatic stress. Journal of Organizational Behavior, pp. 407-424.

Surette, R. (2007) 'Media, crime, and criminal justice: Images, realities and policies.' (3rd ed.) New York: Wadsworth.

Surette, R. (2011) *Media, Crime, and Criminal Justice. Images, Realities, and Policies.* 5th ed. Stamford: Cengage Learning.

Sutton, A. 2018 Distinguishing between Authenticity and Personality Consistency in predicting Well-Being: a mixed method approach. Revue européenne de psychologie appliquée. Pp. 1–14. doi :10.1016/j.erap.2018.06.001

Taris, T.W., Le Blanc, P.M., Schaufeli, W.B and Schreurs, P.J.G. 2005 Are there causal relationships between the dimensions of the Maslach Burnout Inventory? A review and two longitudinal tests'. Work and Stress, 19(3) 238-255. DOI: 10.1080/02678370500270453

Teddlie, c. and Tashakkori, A. (2003) Major issues and Controversies in the use of Mixed Methods in the Social and Behavioural Sciences. *In* Tashakkori and Teddlie, C. (Eds), *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioural research,* pp. 3-50. California: SAGE Publications Inc.

Theodosius, C. (2008) *Emotional labour in health care: The unmanaged heart of nursing.'* New York: Routledge.

Todres, L. and Wheller, S. (2001) 'The complementarity of phenomenology, hermeneutics and existentialism as a philosophical perspective for nursing research.' *International Journal of Nursing Studies,* 38, pp. 1-8.

Tracy, S. J. (2010) Qualitative quality: Eight "big-tent" criteria for excellent qualitative research. Qualitative Inquiry, 16(10), 837–851.

Tracy, S.J. (2000) 'Becoming a Character for Commerce', *Management communication Quarterly,* 14(1) pp. 90-128.

Travers, C. (2011) 'Unveiling a reflective diary methodology for exploring the lived experiences of sress and coping.' *Journal of Vocational Behavior,* 79(1) pp. 204-216.

Turner, J.C. and Oakes, P.J. (1994) 'Self and Collective: Cognition and Social Context.' *Personality and social psychology bulletin,* 20(5) pp. 454-463.

van der Meer, C.A., Bakker, A., Smit, A.S., van Buschbach, S., den Dekker, M., Westerveld, G.J., Hutter, R.C., Gersons, B.P. and Olff, M., (2017) 'Gender and age differences in trauma and PTSD among Dutch treatment-seeking police officers.' *The Journal of nervous and mental disease*, *205*(2), pp.87-92.

van Gelderen, B. R., Bakker, A. B., Konijn, E. and Binnewies, C. (2014) 'Daily deliberative dissonance acting among police officers.' *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, 29(7) pp. 884-900.

Van Hasselt, V.B., Baker, M.T., Romano, S.J., Schlessinger, K.M., Zucker, M., Dragone, R. and Perera, A.L. (2006) 'Crisis (Hostage) Negotiation Training: A preliminary Evaluation of Program Efficacy.' *Criminal Justice and Behavior,* 33(1), pp.56-69.

Waddington, P.A.J. (1999) 'Police (Canteen) Sub-culture. An appreciation.' British Journal of Criminology, 39(2), pp. 287-309.

Waters, A. and Ussery, W. (2007) 'Police stress: history, contributing factors, symptoms, and inverventions.' *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 30(2), pp. 169-188. DOI 10.1108/13639510710753199

Watson, L. and Andrews, L. (2018) 'The effect of a Trauma Risk Management (TRiM) program on stigma and barriers to help-seeing in the police.' *International Journal of Stress Management,* 25(4), pp. 348-356.

Webster, S., Lewis, J. and Brown, A. (2014) 'Ethical considerations in qualitative research.' *In* Ritchie, J., Lewis, J. and McNaughton Nicholls, C. and Ormston, R. (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice.* 2nd ed., London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Pp. 77-110.

Weeks, K. (2007) 'Life Within and Against Work: Affective Labor, Feminist Critique, and Post-Fordist Politics.' *Emphemera,* 7(1), pp. 233-249.

Weick, K.E. (2007) 'The Generative Properties of Richness.' *The Academy of Management Journal,* 50(1) pp. 14 - 19.

Westmarland, L. (2016) 'Governanace of policing and cultural codes: interpreting and responding to policy directives.' *Global Crime,* 17, (3-4), pp. 352-369. DOI: 10.1080/17440572.2016.1179630

Wharton, A. S. (1999) 'The psychosocial consequences of emotional Labor.' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Scienc*e, 561, Jan, pp. 158-176.

Williams, A. (2013) 'Hochschild 2003 The managed heart: The recognition of emotional Labor in public service work.' *Nurse Education Today,* 33 pp. 5-7. DOI: 10.1016/j.nedt.2012.07.006

Williamson, I., Leeing, D., Lyttle, S. and Johnson, S. (2015) 'Evaluating the audio-diary method in qualitative research.' *Qualitative Research Journal,* 15(1) pp. 20-34.

Worline, M.C. and Dutton, J.E. (2017) *Awakening Compassion at Work. The quiet power that elevates people and organisations.* California: Berrett-Koehler Publishers Inc.

Yildiz, E., 2013. Enigma of Silence in Organizations: What Happens To Whom and Why?. *Beykent Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, *6*(2).

Yuill, C. (2005) 'Marx: Capitalism, Alienation and Health.' *Social Theory & Health,* 3 pp. 126-143.

Zachariadis, M., Scott, S. and Barrett, M. 2013 Methodological Implications of Critical Realism for Mixed-Methods Research. MIS Quarterly, 37(3) pp. 855 – 879.

Zapf, D. (2002) 'Emotion work and psychological well-being: a review of the literature and some conceptual considerations.' *Human Resource Management Review,* 12 pp. 237-268.

Appendices.

Appendix A: Author's Reflexive Diary.

AA 1: Overview.

This research is driven and informed by my own personal experience as a serving police officer for 18 years, the child of two police officers, and a wife to a retired officer, still serving as a member of police staff. When I began this thesis, I was still a serving officer with Greater Manchester Police, although on a career break as a full-time student and associate lecturer. Due to struggling with my own mental health whilst a Detective Inspector I made a very difficult decision to step away from what should have been a promising career. This was heart breaking. I felt pushed into a choice between my career and my mental health. Initially I thought that this was my problem alone, however, when I spoke privately with my colleagues about my experiences, I found was that we all shared a level of distress that was not communicated between us.

Before leaving to commence my career break, I became passionate about striving for a more open and tolerant culture that would support employees in dealing with the inevitable emotions that result from police work. I documented the beginning of this journey here:

https://thereflectivedetective.wordpress.com/2015/11/17/the-reflective-detective-1

Having successfully completed my MSc. in human resource management, which included a dissertation that explored emotional labour and burnout in a local police force (see entry #5 in my blog for more information or Lennie et al. (2019) for the results), I moved onto study for this thesis. This thesis is borne out of passion (and at times an anger) to see an end to needless suffering in police officers. I do not believe that it is acceptable to simply accept a status quo that sees police officers, who regularly put their lives on the line to protect others, 'broken by the job'. I also

do not believe that it is acceptable that these officers should suffer in silence, as society proffers poor mental health an inevitable consequence to police work.

Therefore, you can see why I feel that a reflexive diary is imperative in instance. I am so interwoven into the drive behind this study it will surely have an influence on the understanding of what I find. This is my lens and it is only right that anyone reading this work has access to the same view point.

AA2: Literature Review.

A unit of the taught element of my PhD programme was writing a systematic literature review. This work was used to inform the literature review here in this thesis, though it eventually grew considerably, and I moved away from the systematic element of the work.

Setting up the protocol seems a little strange, and at times difficult to see clearly. I think this is due to having studied the area for my MSc. dissertation and having already conducted one lit review. I find that I have a less explorative mind set and seem more likely to anticipate what search words will bring back results I am already aware of. I am hoping that my appointment with librarian Nicola Beck will ensure that I have good search terms that bring back a comprehensive list.

I have added 'talking' into my search terms as I wish to explore the psychological literature on the benefits of disclosing emotions. I suspect this will sit in the talking therapy/psychoanalytic section. Though I acknowledge that this is in anticipation of what I will find, and to make a positive argument for the management of emotional labour. This could be seen as a bias as there is some evidence and anticipation that some emotional suppression is helpful for mental health - but I want to be sure that I fully understand this and that I am able to express this within my thesis.

I am still confused with the idea of mapping my areas - in my tutorial it was suggested that my areas all lie under psychology. I thought some lay under organisational behaviour, but on reflection (looking at my Venn diagram) I would agree that it all sits under psychology.

I have, this morning, been speaking with Dr Stuart Elgin. We have been discussing Jungian psychology and his work with change management (Stuart's, not Jung's). This reinforces my belief that my area is in psychology, but I don't see that many of the journal articles that I referred to for my dissertation sat under this heading. Perhaps this is what I will find when I carry out the systematic review. I hope this becomes clearer to me as at the moment I feel that I am looking out at a vast landscape of unknowns. This is very different from where I began this diary entry.

I have now reduced my literature list to 87 for both burnout and emotional labour in the police. I am going to start here with my writing of my review. For ease and comfort I am going to start with the main articles that I know and are the most relevant. I have ordered another 7 articles and 1 book, so I am still waiting for everything to come in. I am now aware of the structure and format that the assignment will need to take so I feel I can begin with confidence. I am still grappling with my ontological perspective, but I feel that I can address this enough at the moment to satisfy the needs of the assignment.

I have spent the last two days reviewing articles and building on my assignment. It reminds me again what a confused picture emotional labour is in policing, and how people seem obsessed with using surveys and scales... I have just begun reading Rees and Smith 'Breaking the silence: The Traumatic Circle of Policing' which is a study into trauma in the UK police. I am only half way through, but it is the first article I have read that really reflects a lot of what I have seen and experienced. It says what I have been wanting to say to make my argument for this research.

Today I am reflecting on dissociation and depersonalisation. When I read some of the qualitative data and look at the quants stats on depersonalisation, I realise just how much a lot of my colleagues are dissociating/depersonalising from their experiences. Even to the point of pretending that they can't get hurt (invincible). I am highly aware that this does not reflect my own personal experience; and I wonder now how I interpreted the rules of my organisation and the behaviour of my colleagues. I thought we were all surface acting - pretending we weren't scared/horrified by everything. I think a lot of them may have blocked all feeling and

removed themselves emotionally, which is why they get through (I hesitate to use the term 'cope'). I have a sense that I was doing things the hard way.

I am reading Van Gelderen et al. (2011a) and learning about how this research employed role play and actors. This research looks at both sides of emotional labour, from the person performing the labour (police officer) and the member of the public (in this case actor). But it has really made me reflect on my interactions with members of the public as a uniformed officer, and how I moved in and out and through people's lives. How for much of it I saw them at some of their worst moments, and how I had to act to control situations, and how I had to manipulate my emotions, to affect theirs. I also considered how the public interact with officers and realised that they every much depersonalised us. They saw a uniform and a figure of authority, sometimes an inconvenience, sometimes a focal point for anger, often an unwanted figure of the state. Rarely a human being with emotions - unless you really engaged emotionally with them, and this was generally with victims of crime, or others in distress.

To be honest, even when I am at university and say I am an officer, people react differently to me. Not in a bad way, but it is like they stop seeing me - SJ.

This makes me wonder - which comes first? Do we depersonalise, or do the people who meet depersonalise us? How does this impact on officers' perception as to how they are expected to deal with (or even feel) emotion? If the world looks at you like a robot performing a role, is this what you become?

I am presently working on my quantitative assignment as part of the taught element of my PhD. I have taken my earlier reflections on dissociation and depersonalisation as a form or burnout and I have decided that I will try and understand the relationship between the two. Not just how depersonalisation on the dissociation scale relates to depersonalisation within burnout, but how the other aspects of burnout relate to other areas. As a part of my research I am reading chapters of a book called 'Promoting Capabilities To Manage Posttraumatic Stress. There are two things that I have discovered that I feel are significant. To myself and to the study:

1, ‘the twin peaks of resilience’ and the existence of negative resilience as apparent form of coping and as a result of disenfranchised distress, where officers are not allowed to deal with their emotions due to the organisational culture (Friedman and Higson-Smith, 2003).

2, Behavioural addiction to high-risk situations... (Paton, Violanti and Schmikler, 1999)

Starting with the second - I have stated for a long time that police work is addictive - it is why it is so difficult to walk away from, to take a break from (even for a rest day), and why anything else just doesn’t seem so fulfilling. I have struggled to understand the reasons behind this, I wondered whether it was a status aspect, or a sense of worth. However, I strongly suspect that the adrenaline rush of police work makes everyday life seem a little less exciting and a bit dull, and I suspect that police officers deal with this in a variety of ways - alcohol, affairs, or just not leaving work and burning out. This may also highlight another link to depression. When you are not high; you can be left feeling low.

Looking at - the twin peaks of resilience, I have often wondered why some people (myself included) make it a substantial way through their career before for hitting their own brick wall (PTSD, Anxiety, Depression, Burnout et c.). The concept of the twin peaks makes sense - with the French police identifying (through suicide rates) that 15 years is the mean average for an officer to suffer and show signs of distress. Disenfranchised distress clearly reflects my thoughts and research on emotional labour, however - negative resilience brings a whole know concept to my work, and I can now identify those that are apparently coping but also suffering in silence. This further clarifies my understanding.

AA3: Philosophical Underpinnings.

There is an issue with Heidegger, and I want to talk about the elephant in the room. He was a Nazi sympathiser and anti-Semitic. Which makes me sick to the core, it confuses me and saddens me. It also worries me deeply as to A: what using his philosophy does to the greater world - am I giving tacit acceptance to his worldly

behaviour in using his philosophy; am I condoning the man and will this harm others? Which leads me to B: what will people think of me? Will others believe that I am myself in some way racist or cruel and bigoted? This is exceptionally difficult and something I discussed with my supervisor before embarking on my PhD. It is something that I agonise on and have continued to read around - not just on his philosophy, but also on the man (see 'Philosophy Now' Issue 125, April/May 2018). Heidegger was not a good man. There are many people that have been placed in bad situations and made bad decisions, but with one who has the luxury of an incredible intellect, and the privilege to reflect on his and others place in the world, his actions (and inaction) are inexcusable.

Hannah Arendt has my sympathy - though she forgave the man in her later years - she was brave enough to move away from the privilege of thinking and into the difficulty of personal action, taking great risks out of concern for others.

I can't begin to understand how Heidegger managed to be so emotionally removed from those around him, despite arguing a philosophy that conceptualised the interconnectedness of everything and everyone (probably one for the psychologists though I am sure that Freud and Jung will have had their own contrasting fore-conceptions to acknowledge in their analysis). I am the first to admit that I have not read enough to provide a valid opinion on the why, but I am clear on my disgust with the what.

So how do I reconcile this with myself?

Well through my motivation for my research and my life choice in work - I am driven to help others and use my work to alleviate the suffering of others. So two fingers up to Heidegger. I have a clear heart in this.

AA4: Research Design.

This morning I am working on my RD1: my initial research proposal. As above I have been looking to widen the scope of my research to take in wider potential psychological outcomes and measures. However, the more I reflect on my previous research and what was most impactive (depersonalisation) I feel I need to stay for

the moment with Maslach's burnout measure, as I think that more than anything, police officers depersonalise themselves from their work. Their maybe other psychological measures for this (disassociation) but I am not versed enough in psychology to known this and I feel that for my research design I need to highlight depersonalisation, which in turn relates to burnout. I think that this again may have an impact on how I conduct my literature review - but I will have to reflect on this before I can address it. Time pressures do not help here.

I have decided that the measurement of burnout via Maslach and Jackson's inventory is imperative to understanding the role of depersonalisation in police officer feeling rules. From my earlier study (Lennie et al., 2019) I found that depersonalisation seemed to be used as a coping mechanism for police officers, and a requirement of organisational feeling rules. I wish to further establish how this impacts police officer mental health and whether it is a successful coping mechanism or whether there are further implications. Therefore, this it is important that burnout is included in my research, specifically.

Coming to design this piece of research, I am very much being driven by epistemological, ontological and methodological considerations, in so much that I feel strongly about the use of quantitative data in a study on emotions - coming from a fear that organisations would use any statistical data to divide individual experiences into 'normal and desirable' and 'non normal and un acceptable' and as a result seek to remove the second category rather than improve officer experienced mental health. This isn't something I considered in my earlier study when I used the MBI but I didn't expect this to have the impact/reach that it has. Now I feel I need to be more careful about how I present my research. I am largely drawn to the writing of Michael Foucault and the capitalist construction of 'normal mental health' and its relation to productivity in the social sense and similarly that of the Marxist theory of alienation and productivity within the organisation. When writing up and refining my ideas, my research led me into the area of qualitative mixed methods - which I became very much interested in. I have to admit being reassured by the concept, as it supported my design of several qualitative methods - but at the same time I had to give a lot of consideration as to whether I accurately fit the description of complete

method and supplementary methods - with the supplementary method being incomplete and unable of being published (Morse).

AA5: Participant Recruitment.

I am writing the advert to recruit participants to Phase 2 - audio diary. This is quite difficult to construct. My writing style needs adapting so that I don't lose potential participants through boredom, or lack of understanding - I want to get across the importance that I attach to the research, without creating a bias in the mind of the reader - which would skew self-selection. I want to use some words to attract people to the advert 'mental health' and 'wellbeing' are well used words, though 'psychological' is more professional sounding (IMO).

The co-construction of reality. The final phase of recruiting participants is either meeting them or talking to them on the phone. This is to make sure that they understand everything that is required of them, how to record and deliver their diary entries, and to reassure them of any concerns that they may have or to answer any questions. Inevitably this conversation centres on their and my perceptions of how the police culture impedes officers protecting their mental health. There is part of me that is concerned about the influence I may have within these conversations - which makes me glad that the audio diary removes me from the process, however, the use of IPA and the concept of the hermeneutic circle reassures me as to the co-creation of reality between researcher and participant - which is why I am recording my thoughts in this reflexive diary - I am very much part of the construction of these findings - I identify with the experiences of my participants and how they interpret the organisation and the identity it creates for them. One of the participants that I spoke to came from a theatre background - and they talked very much in terms of performance and playing a role - they were the most aware of the process that took place and could articulate this as an aspect of their own working life.

A lot of the discussions that I had with participants really reassured me (again) that my research was heading in the right direction.

AA6: Discourse Analysis.

Today I am reading a journal article in Qualitative Research in Psychology - 'Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology.' Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, 2006.

I am presently preparing my initial analysis of the first stage of my research - the secondary data review of media, literary fiction and film. I have stated that I will identify themes using discourse analysis but having read this I wonder if I should be doing discourse analysis at all. The Braun Clarke article gives a very good structure (six stage) for thematic analysis, and argues it strengths for phenomenological research, also taken from a socially constructed perspective. I am drawn to the flexibility in TA that allows analysis of 'sociocultural contexts, and structural conditions, that enable the individual accounts that are provided.' (Braun and Clarke, 2006:85). As a result I am re reading Wetheral and Potter's (1988) chapter on discourse analysis. I again appreciate the perspective that they take - arguing that language is not a direct reflection of a subjects' thoughts - but provide 'functions' and most, social functions that are constructed and interpreted by subjects. This again sits comfortably with my interpretative and social constructive stance, but I also find that DA maybe limiting in its interpretative analysis. However, I also find the analysis of specific word and sentence function useful (here I am reflecting on officers use of the term 'Robot' and speaking in the 2nd and 3rd person within Lennie et al. (2019) at points. Then again, when I am analysing fiction - these are not naturally constructed language, but done so by an author, a driver of a narrative, rather than inhabiting this narrative, and I am not analysing the 'why' of the sentence construction - as I will for living participants - but more so the 'what' of themes and rules that I find are communicated outward with the sole purpose/function of being received.

As I am lacing up my green velvet laces in my blue velvet boots I ask myself the question 'If I argue from the perspective of social construction - how can I argue for authenticity?'

I have now moved onto reading up on Foucauldian Discourse Analysis, and I am reading a chapter dedicated to this in the SAGE handbook on qualitative research, 2007. Not surprisingly, Foucauldian DA fits the perspective of my research - it acknowledges and seeks historicality (from Foucault's genealogical work) and power

in social situations and seeks to understand how society is being shaped by language, which reflects power relationships.

However, SAGE states that FDA should and can only be applied to naturally occurring discourse. So, echoing what I said earlier - I do not feel that DA is appropriate for fictional constructed narrative.

I have now discovered SKAD. This takes a social constructionist stance to discourse analysis – which allows me to explore the power of the media through the discourse created and presented to society. This seems the perfect blend of DA, taking a hermeneutic approach but also takes the view that there is no true naturally occurring discourse, which removes the stumbling block I found with FDA.

AA7: Media Review.

I am presently conducting the task of identifying the media for the first part of my research - the secondary data media review. Actually, identifying the media in each genre (Film, Book, TV Series, TV Documentary) has been more difficult than I imagined. However, I have identified the film and the book. The film is 'Triple 9'. It is an American film, but was the top watched police related film of 2016 in the UK. I am actually surprised how few police films there were. I have conducted an initial viewing of this film and it contains all the typical stereotypes - drinking, drug abuse, dysfunctional relationships, long hours, isolation. There is also another theme that I have not consciously identified before but I am now seeing in most police dramatisations - corruption. This is a little bit shocking as, for me, it doesn't correspond to my experience of policing - whereas the other elements I find typical of the police. As I am interested in how media constructions of police officers influence police behaviour - I wonder why I don't see this one behaviour as consistent with policing life that I have experienced? Which moves me to consider the lens through which I view policing. Despite having worked in professional standards I would not say that corruption is a regular element of British policing, but then am I blinkered to what really goes on because I have not been exposed to this side of policing? Has my attitude to corruption - and a devotion to detail and accuracy, led to my isolation from what truly goes on in policing? Triple 9 subtly explores the levels

of corruption that can occur - from outright criminality in the form of taking part in a heist, to engaging in drug abuse in private, to taking drugs with criminals to illicit information for an investigation. This last aspect caused me to reflect on the concept of 'Deliberative Dissonance Acting' and how police officers will disregard their true values and moral principles to build rapport with a suspect. This is a very low level of value dissonance - but is it sitting at the lesser end of a continuum that ends with corruption and criminal activity - where is the line drawn? Will I ever know to what lengths police officers go to achieve a conviction, and is emotional labour opening the doors for acceptable lying that eventually leads to some level of corruption? When you become comfortable with lying about how you feel - what other lies are you comfortable telling?

I am writing up my initial thoughts on the thematic review of 'Missing, Presumed'. I am pretty impressed with the accuracy of the writing in this work. I am particularly struck by how much I identify with the central character DS Manon. She is very much the woman I used to be when I was a police officer. Particularly when she talks about the pointlessness of hobbies - I recall having said these very lines myself. It is clear that I identify with this character - which is likely to come through in my coding, even with my awareness of my bias. Though again, this raises the question that I am seeking to address here - which comes first, the fictionally constructed and socially supported character or the existing police persona? Art reflecting life, reflecting art... Or perhaps, chicken or egg?

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 145-154. This review by myself could be me projecting onto the character. As a child I suffered a trauma that I was never allowed to express emotionally and learnt to supress my emotions and to portray a character to appease the adult world. I have therefore never learnt as a child to deal with my emotions - making my adult emotional life more complicated as I seek to dissociate from the external world as a coping mechanism. However, it interests me the similarities I see with the character in the book and myself, my behaviour emotionally, and job choice.

Secondary coding of Media Items.

Looking at categories for chapter one – Manon, I am including 'married to the job' but I believe that this is probably drawn out of my own epistemology of policing – this is a term that is often used for officers who are more committed to their work than their personal relationships – it was often used for myself. So here is a strong bias, but I have to be honest and say that I identify with Manon in this respect. But still this is what I see as the classification coming from the writing.

I am finding this interpretation extremely difficult, it is as if I can sense the phenomena but it is very difficult to pin down how it is constructed through the discourse – this is very intense work, particularly working on my own – I expect if I worked in a team of researchers it would help to discuss my interpretations.

The very title of this novel is indicative of the depersonalised nature of police officers and police work. Missing, presumed dead – would be the full description. But like everything in police work, the humanity is taken out in the name of efficiency. This is rather like the term 'prove' in GMP, if someone is likely to prove – it is shorthand for likely to die. The full sentence would read 'their injuries are likely to prove fatal'. The whole word 'prove' is given another meaning – and at the same time the emotion of the situation is taken out of the expression. A classic dissociation.

Triple 9

Reviewing Triple 9 is again difficult. It is difficult to get past the story of corruption to see what message is being sent out – but it is definitely one of masculinity and one of aggression. I think there are two female officers represented – and they are not seen out of the station.

In general, I am finding the SKAD of the media selection very difficult. In one sense I am examining the trees in detail and attempting to see a picture of the wood. In referring back to Keller in the Sociology of Knowledge approach to Discourse (2018: 17). I am going to build the case rather like I would present a prosecution file. I have carried out the initial SKAD of the four media items. I will now use them to construct

my understanding of the emotional labour of police officers in the context of the media.

I have a strong leaning to the presented architypes within the media I am analysing – I clearly see the difference between the healthy, happy and positive young officer and the burned out cynical older cop who is worn down by what they have seen. The anticipated desensitisation seems inevitable and presented as an indication of the successful officer – if you are happy and positive and trying to do good in the role, you are naive and incompetent. Best still you remain unmoved by what you see and uncompassionate. These are the first clear messages that I am seeing, and I know I am biased here because I have often identified them when watching police procedurals in my own time. I have also seen this played out in my police service. As a young detective sergeant I realised that if I was going to be taken seriously by my DC's and my DI I had to stop smiling and stop looking like I believed in the good of the job. To be cynical is to be successful and trusted.

I am just finishing up my first draft of my media analysis and I have just been struck by a thunder bolt. I am/was a 'Boy Scout'.

AA8: The Anxiety of Data Collection.

I could have titled this section 'the irony of trying to study the concept of police officers not talking about emotions whilst at the same time asking them to talk about their emotions'.

I have been collecting data for the audio diary stage for eight months now, and despite having bombarded twitter, raised my profile and blogged with Policing Insight and Oscar Kilo, run initiatives with the police rehabilitation centre at Harrogate - who are REALLY engaged with my research and supporting it, initiatives where I am directly advertising through and with the support of many forces, having had *literally* hundreds of emails with officers and many, many phone calls - I have presently (07/07/18) 25 officers who have signed consent forms and agreed to work with me after having spoken. Out of these, eighteen are actively contributing - and

then, only one has contributed the full 16 entries, despite me sending out regular text reminders (as agreed with participants).

I have worked so hard to get data on a subject that clearly (by the initial response I have) is supported widely by officers.

I am just reading an article by Smith and Charles on policing and spirituality and the code of silence of police officers - which is echoed in the data that I am getting - with emotional expression seen as a weakness, and a desire not to open up.

I can only say that this response could be an indication of the problem at hand.. but that isn't helping my stress levels at the moment. I do like to make life hard for myself, but I just didn't think that a questionnaire and stats study was appropriate in these circumstances.

AA9: Transcription of Audio Diary.

Find myself wanting to contribute an audio diary!

Analysing Audio Diaries and I am starting on P4. From my recollections of transcribing P4's entries and reading the first entry I am not sure how to deal with the data – I perceive P4 as part of the problem. I honestly find them to be quite a mean and vindictive person, who has no compassion or empathy for anyone – particularly their colleagues. They are very untypical of the other participants and my experience of police officers. When I transcribed the entries I found them very uncomfortable to listen to and I suspect that I will have a very negative bias in analysing them.

There is a regulation (Police Regs) that officers should treat all people with courtesy and respect and not take a deriding attitude towards others, colleagues and members of the public. I think P4 falls short of this. However, the inspector in entry 1 probably also falls short of not taking an overbearing attitude towards others, particularly those junior in rank.

I find his manner and tone quite abhorrent.

P4 Entry 2 ‘I think that within the police environment I think that there are ways to deal with, shall we say, difficult people, without having to resort to being outright abusive or unpleasant but in a more subtle and covert way, and this is the way that I did it, and I thought that it was to an extent well handled by myself, this individual now knows that I won’t tolerate him making these kind of remarks in the future, he basically I think, was put back in his place.’

P4 seems to feel the need to put many people ‘back in their place’.

I have discussed this issue with my supervisors, and they are right that I cannot exclude P4 because I don’t like the way that they behave, this is where I need to be objective about my research. However, I have once again read through all of the entries provided by P4 and for the most part I do not feel that they cover the areas that I am looking for – emotional expression. Though I have analysed the entries where they apply to my research, I am not able to analyse all of the entries as I do not feel they are appropriate or relevant.

On a more positive note, analysing P18 and progressing through his entries, I know that he is finding the process helpful and he is becoming much more self-aware and is using the diary as a way to release his emotions. This is a fantastic result but does mean that his entries have less emotional labour within them and are adding less and less to the research in terms of data, but so much more in terms of outcomes!

AA10: IPA – Interviews.

It has dawned on me as I have been contemplating the interpretation of the interviews with the ex-officers how typically superordinate and sub themes are always presented as discreet elements. However, I don’t feel that this can really be a true reflection of the phenomena that I am researching. Indeed – can it be a true representation of any lived experience? I do believe that we can identify different elements of subjective experience, but to present them as discreet elements that don’t overlap or intertwine with each other seems to me to be a misrepresentation and over simplification of the phenomena at hand. Therefore, I am attempting a more accurate representation – attempting a spider diagram of superordinate

themes and shared subordinate themes, hopefully to reflect the complexity and almost web-like blanket of oppression that officers operate within.

The IPA of the ex-officer interviews is being conducted after I have transcribed all of the data and carried out the partial analysis. Now that I am returning to the analysis of these interviews I am feeling somewhat lost in the data and I am beginning to second guess myself. At first I became really paranoid that I was creating superordinate themes because I know what the rest of the data says – rather than just hearing what the participants are saying to me. This almost led me to move away from the more obvious themes – almost because that was what they were – obvious to me. However, I started to think about this more in the knowledge that I am actually mapping the data – because I know the data well – which is as it should be. I don't pretend to come to this study with no knowledge, and the more I work on this research, the more that I become skilled in identifying the key areas. Which is actually the point of working to this depth. As it is, I believe that I have identified the legitimate differences and crossovers between the two groups of serving and ex officers.

I have just added a recommendations section to the analysis as I realise that I do not have any formal way to capture the answers to the prompt sheet that ask participants to explore what the job could do better to support police officers.

AA11: Social Identity Theory.

Presently I am reading around social identity theory and reflecting on identity politics. Reading Haslam (2014) and reflecting on my conversations with the students at CCCU I wonder if the dehumanisation of police officers isn't a political agenda. And the more that I think about it, the more that I think I am fool not to consider this. If the government agenda is to strip back police resources (already happened) and privatise the police (happening), then systematically dehumanising the British bobby will prevent the public from protesting against the move. The increasing severity of assaults on officers, coupled with the lack of judicial recognition in terms of sentencing from the courts, would indicate that the public and social mood toward the police and policing is one of indifference.

AA12: The End.

I didn't believe people when they told me how bad formatting a PhD would be – this is literally the most stressful aspect of my research!

I find that I am very emotionally bonded with my research, but at the same time exhausted by it, but it has been one of the very best experiences of my life, and has possibly allowed me, and will continue to allow me, to make more difference in people's lives than being a police officer ever did.

Appendix B: Audio Diary Prompt Sheet.

Audio diary Prompt sheet

Instructions for completion

Thank you for agreeing to complete a work diary about your experiences as a police officer. This study is important to help understand the pressures that police officers are under and how they are affected emotionally by their work, and how they communicate this.

How to complete the diary

- Please record your thoughts about any incidents at work that you have experienced an emotional response to. Ideally this should be completed twice a week for two months.
- Prior to starting your audio entry it may be useful to make written notes to highlight situations that you wish to talk about, considering the prompts given below.
- For each recording, please work your way through the prompts in order. Some issues may be more relevant to you than others. You can talk in more detail on the areas that are more relevant to you. Some areas may not be relevant at all, please feel to ignore these.
- These prompts are just a guide to aid your thinking.

When to carry out your recordings

- Please carry out your recordings twice a week on days agreed using the 'Smart Record' app on your mobile phone. You will be sent a text message as a reminder that the recordings should be carried out. Once you have completed your recording you should name the file 'Participant No. ? Entry No. ?' and then email it to myself at:

sarah-jane.lennie@stu.mmu.ac.uk

What to consider for your recordings

Notes: You may find that one incident continues to either affect you, or to be dealt with, in subsequent weeks. If this is the case please feel free to explore this one incident over multiple diary entries. It is also important to consider prior events that influence your experience of an incident and to articulate this.

When making your entries please try and limit the personal information recorded, this is for confidential purposes. There is no need for names or locations to be disclosed, just a description of events without people being identified.

Please consider an incident that you have been involved in that affected you emotionally. This can be any incident and any emotional response. Describe to me how you felt within yourself and what emotions you experienced. Please describe how you felt towards individuals and situations present at the incident. In detail, please describe your feelings.

To what extent did you feel that you were able to be open about how you felt to:

A: the members of public at the incident?

B: your colleagues at the incident?

To what extent did you feel that you supressed your emotions?

If you were not able to display your true emotions:

A: why do think this is?

B: how did this make you feel?

At this incident what emotions did you display?

Did you attempt to avoid any emotional reaction or empathy to the incident or those within it?

If so, what led you to make this choice?

To what extent did you attempt to engage with any emotion or to empathise with the incident or those within it?

If so, what led you to make this choice?

Did you deliberately choose to display an emotion that was different from the one that you were feeling inside?

If so, why did you choose to do this?

What was the emotion that you chose to display?

What was the emotion that you hid?

Did you feel that an emotional response was expected of you (either by colleagues or members of the public)?

How did you feel when you got back to the police station?

After the incident did you feel that you were able to discuss your true feelings with your colleagues?

Did you feel that you were able to discuss your true feelings with your line manager?

Were you able to discuss your true feelings with anyone else?

How did you feel when you got back home?

Were you able to discuss or acknowledge your emotions with anyone outside of the police service?

If you are unable to speak about your experience to others, how does this make you feel?

Is there any environment in your life where you feel you can display, acknowledge or address your true inner emotions (this may be on your own or with a colleague or other person).

Do you have any coping strategies that help with your experiences at work?

Do you think that there are rules around emotional display as a police officer?

Is there anything else you would like to talk about?

What are your thoughts about how emotions are dealt with, within your police force?

What do you think that the police service could do better to help officers cope psychologically with their daily work?

Appendix C: Audio Diary Participant Advert.

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN DOCTORAL RESEARCH

#MENTAL HEALTH & WELL-BEING

DOCTORAL RESEARCH INTO THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPACT OF EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE IN POLICE OFFICERS

This is a national study conducted by Sarah-Jane Lennie, a serving officer with Greater Manchester Police. Sarah-Jane is completing a PhD. exploring how the emotions experienced by police officers, and the management of these emotions, affects police officer's mental health and well-being.

The research has been through an ethical scrutiny process applied by Manchester Metropolitan University, and the researcher is governed by those rules.

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore whether police officers are able to express the emotions that they experience as a result of their work, or whether they act alternative emotions that are not linked to the ones that they are experiencing. This study seeks to understand whether there are unspoken 'rules' around emotional expression.

Overall, this study seeks to address any stigma around emotional distress and assist officers in emotional processing and daily coping in an operational environment.

WHO CAN TAKE PART?

Serving police officers, of the rank of Inspector and below, Uniform and Detective that have daily contact with members of the public (face to face or over the phone).

WHAT WILL I BE REQUIRED TO DO AS A PARTICIPANT?

You will be asked to record an audio diary twice a week, via an application on your phone. You will be provided with a prompt sheet to guide your thinking when you are creating your diary entry.

Examples of prompts are:

- *Did you attempt to engage with any emotion or to empathise with the incident or those within it?*
- *Did you deliberately choose to display an emotion that was different from the one that you were feeling inside?*

Your information will be confidential and anonymous, the only identifying marker I will use will be a participant number. However, your gender, length of service and whether you are a uniformed officer or detective will also be recorded.

The study will take over eight weeks, with two entries made each week. Entries can be as long or as short as you like. You can make more entries if you choose. If you can only participate for a couple of weeks, this is okay, you can stop at any time. Any entries will be very helpful and gratefully accepted.

The recordings will be transcribed and then 'coded' by a researcher to find commonality between recordings. This will guide the research. The recordings will be securely stored on an encrypted storage device.

HOW DO I VOLUNTEER?

Please email Sarah-Jane Lennie at: Sarah-Jane.lennie@stu.mmu.ac.uk and you will be provided more information and can ask any further questions you may have, alternatively I am happy to arrange to speak over the phone and talk through what is involved in this research.

Thank you.

Appendix D: Audio Diary Participant Information Sheet.

Emotional in-authenticity: the psychological impact of emotional labour on police officers

Participant information (V.2 04/07/2017)

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

Sarah-Jane Lennie

The Purpose of The Study

The purpose of this study is to explore whether police officers are able to express the emotion that they feel, or whether they act emotions that are not linked to the ones that they are experiencing. This is known as 'surface acting' and forms part of 'emotional labour'. This study seeks to understand whether there are 'implied' rules (not expressed) about being able to express or show emotion.

Why you have been asked…?

You are a police officer dealing with front line policing. It is anticipated that you are going to experience more complex and variety of emotional situations than other officers. Therefore, you provide the opportunity for rich data recovery, which supports the endeavour of this study.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART…?

It is up to you to decide. We will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which we will give to you. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. If you do withdraw all of your information will be deleted.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART…?

You will be asked to record an audio diary twice a week, utilizing an application on your phone. You will be provided a guide of how we would like you to think about your diary entry to assist you. Your information will be confidential and the only identifying marker you will use will be a participant number. However, your gender, length of service and whether you are a uniformed officer or detective will also be recorded.

The study will take over eight weeks, with two entries made each week. They can be as long or as short as you like. You can make more entries if you choose. If you can only participate for a couple of weeks, this is okay. Any entries will be very helpful and gratefully accepted.

The recordings will be transcribed and then 'coded' by a researcher to find commonality between recordings. This will guide the research.

The recordings will be digitally stored on an encrypted storage device.

WHAT IF THERE IS A PROBLEM…?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions (sarah-jane.lennie@stu.mmu.ac.uk or 07967 411463).

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally you can do this through the researcher's Director of Studies, Dr Sarah Crozier. She can be contacted at s.crozier@mmu.ac.uk .

CONTACT

If you have any other questions or issues regarding this study, please contact the lead researcher:

Sarah-Jane Lennie

sarah-jane.lennie@stu.mmu.ac.uk

07967 411 463

EMOTIONAL SUPPORT.

All though research has indicated that this form of research participation can be therapeutic for participants, you should be aware that some participants may find it emotionally distressing recalling and reflecting on events that they have witnessed or been involved in. If you find that you are struggling to deal with a particular event or struggling in general there is support available. Please don't hesitate to speak to someone.

Blue Light:

Call: 0300 303 5999

Email: bluelightinfo@mind.org.uk

Text: 84999

Samaritans:

Free Tel: 116 123

Email: jo@samaritans.org

SANE:

Helpline: 0300 304 7000 (6pm - 11pm every evening)

There is a support forum on their website that is available 24 hours a day.

http://www.sane.org.uk/what_we_do/support

Appendix E: Interview Participant Information Sheet.

Emotional in-authenticity: the psychological impact of emotional labour on police officers

Participant information (V.3 17/09/2018)

I would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Ask questions if anything you read is not clear or would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not to take part.

Sarah-Jane Lennie

The Purpose of The Study

The purpose of this study is to explore whether police officers are able to express the emotion that they feel, or whether they act emotions that are not linked to the ones that they are experiencing. This is known as 'surface acting' and forms part of 'emotional labour'. This study seeks to understand whether there are 'implied' rules (not expressed) about being able to express or show emotion.

Why you have been asked...?

You are a police officer dealing with front line policing. It is anticipated that you are going to experience more complex and variety of emotional situations than

other officers. Therefore, you provide the opportunity for rich data recovery, which supports the endeavours of this study.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART…?

It is up to you to decide. We will describe the study and go through the information sheet, which we will give to you. We will then ask you to sign a consent form to show you agreed to take part. You are free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason. If you do withdraw all of your information will be deleted.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO ME IF I TAKE PART...?

You will be asked to take part in an interview conducted over the phone or through video conferencing. You will be provided a copy of the questions in advance to assist you. Your information will be confidential and the only identifying marker you will use will be a participant number. However, your gender, length of service and whether you are a uniformed officer or detective will also be recorded.

The interview will take roughly an hour and a half. The questions are guidance and you are free to explore your perceptions of how police officers deal with their emotions.

The recordings will be transcribed and then 'coded' by a researcher to find commonality between interviews conducted. The recordings will be digitally stored on an encrypted storage device.

WHAT IF THERE IS A PROBLEM...?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak to the researchers who will do their best to answer your questions (sarah-jane.lennie@stu.mmu.ac.uk or 07967 411463).

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally you can do this through the researcher's Director of Studies, Dr Sarah Crozier. She can be contacted at s.crozier@mmu.ac.uk .

CONTACT

If you have any other questions or issues regarding this study, please contact the lead researcher:

Sarah-Jane Lennie

sarah-jane.lennie@stu.mmu.ac.uk

07967 411 463

EMOTIONAL SUPPORT.

All though research has indicated that this form of research participation can be therapeutic for participants, you should be aware that some participants may find it emotionally distressing recalling and reflecting on events that they have witnessed or been involved in. If you find that you are struggling to deal with a particular event or struggling in general there is support available. Please don't hesitate to speak to someone.

Blue Light:

Call: 0300 303 5999

Email: bluelightinfo@mind.org.uk

Text: 84999

Samaritans:

Free Tel: 116 123

Email: jo@samaritans.org

SANE:

Helpline: 0300 304 7000 (6pm - 11pm every evening)

There is a support forum on their website that is available 24 hours a day.

http://www.sane.org.uk/what_we_do/support

Appendix F: Interview Questions.

PhD. Participant Reflexive Interview.

Semi-Structured Questions:

Identified Gender:

Police Service:

Age:

Years in Service:

Present Position:

Culture of Emotional Expression.

Thinking about your experience as a police officer can you tell me what attitude you have experienced towards emotional expression within the police service?

Prompt: Can you give me examples from your life?

Why do you think this is?

Thinking again about your experience, what emotions have you found to be acceptable within your organization?

Prompt: Can you give me examples from your life?

What have you found the attitude of senior leaders and supervisors to be towards emotional experience and expression?

Prompt: Can you give me examples from your life?

What do feel your colleagues expect of you in terms of emotional expression and experience?

Prompt: Can you give me examples from your life?

How do you feel about other officers displaying emotion?

What support does the organization offer in terms of emotional experience?

In your experience, what is the attitude towards mental health by police officers?

Prompt: Can you give me examples from your life?

What do you think the public expect of police officers in relation to emotions and mental health?

Prompt: Can you give me examples of why you believe this to be the case?

<u>Individual Experience of Emotions as a Police Officer.</u>

Again, thinking about your current and previous experience as a police officer, what extent do you feel you are able to be open about how you feel:

- With members of the public?
- Your colleagues (peers)?
- Your supervisor?
- Your family?

To what extent do you feel you suppress your emotions:

- With members of the public?
- Your colleagues (peers)?
- Your supervisor?

- Your family?

Why do you suppress your emotions?

To what extent do you avoid any emotional or empathetic response to an incident (this could be with victim, witness, offender, colleagues - anyone)?

Do you every deliberately display an emotion contrary to the one that you are feeling inside?

- What were the emotions that you hid?
- What were the emotions that you displayed?

Do you feel that an emotional response is ever expected of you:

- By members of the public?
- By colleagues (peers)?
- By supervisor?
- By family?

Do you think there are rules around emotional display within the police service?

Do you have any coping strategies that help you with your experiences at work?

Is there anyone that you can talk to about how you are feeling?

Police Identity in the Media and Literature.

Do you watch any police related TV shows or Films?

Do you read any police books?

Considering the above, how do you feel that the police are depicted in the media? Please give examples.

Do you think that any representations are realistic?

What impact does the media portrayal of police officers have on you?

Points raised in Audio Diaries and Media Review.

After conducting a media review and thematic analysis of audio diaries of serving officers three main themes were drawn out:

Responsibility for Others stands out as a key driver and motivator for officer's behaviour and draws on social and organizational expectations and influence. These span an officers' public and private life - with three main areas:

- Public - to protect them emotionally and physically from others' actions and officers' emotions.
- Colleagues - to act as a role model and support to other officers and to not show that they themselves are affected emotionally, also to act and take over when another officer is 'emotionally compromised'.
- Family and Friends - to protect them from the horrors of police work and also the own officers' emotions and the impression that they might be suffering or unable to cope.

Isolation and Shame, these two themes accompany each other. They also include an element of motivation or external influence.

- Suppression of emotions - no place or person with who can openly express emotions - leading to feelings of isolation, either drawn through shame of emotions, or need to protect the other.
- Performance and weakness - shame and fear of judgement of not being able to do job due to experienced and expressed emotions.
- Feeling and Display rules - shouldn't feel emotions that are felt (shame) and shouldn't display or express emotions (isolation).

Dissociation and Depersonalisation, again these themes have collapsed into one another as they are similar and differ more in context than experience.

- Dissociation within self - unable to feel emotions that would be expected in a situation, whether at work or within personal circumstances.
- Control - actively avoid and control experience and expression of emotions, whether through suppression of empathy (depersonalization) or distraction and suppression of own feelings (dissociation).
- Intolerance of emotion - don't tolerate emotions of other colleagues, public don't tolerate emotions of police officers, including family and friends (depersonalization).

<u>Questions:</u>

Do you find that you take responsibility for other people's lives:

- at work
- in your private life?

Do you feel the need to protect the people you come into contact with (any context) from the emotional distress of your work?

Do you every allow someone else to take responsibility or control?

If you have an emotional reaction to a situation (whether it be fear of distress or compassion) and you hide these emotions - what do you feel about these emotions?

If you felt emotional and were unable to hide this - how would you feel?

When you are suppressing your emotions what are you afraid of?

How do you feel when you see others express their emotions or are ‘emotional’?

Do you ever experience a time when you don’t feel as you think you ought to?

Do you feel connected to those around you?

Do you have a sense of an inner and outer self or world?

Prompt: Can you give me examples from your life?

Appendix G: Role Play Scenarios and Scripts.

Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue.

You are on E group in the busy town of Sandford. You are in the middle of a busy set of late shifts, and it feels like a relentless work load has been dumped on your team. Some of this is just down to bad luck, but a lot of it is down to austerity and a systematic stripping away of resources. This late duty is no different and everyone looks tired. The team come in to find a lack of vehicles in the rear yard - a good indication that the day shift had had a tough time of it, and you were probably looking at a number of handovers.

You are now halfway into the shift. Half of the team are still in custody dealing with handover prisoners and there are another two waiting for someone to take responsibility for the 136 they are sat with.

There are three remaining members of the team answering jobs and the control room are running them ragged. There just isn't enough people to service the Grade 1's, never mind the burglaries, youth nuisance, and medium risk mispers.

****

At 23.03 you hear the controller shout up on the radio: 'anyone available to attend a report of raised voices and things being thrown on the Flower Estate?'

You know no one will answer as all units are committed.

Radio Silence

The controller comes back on the radio: 'we have multiple reports of screaming and disturbance, one informant can see a young child out in the street, clearly distressed - units towards please?'

Continued radio silence for a few seconds then a unit answers: 'E21 - do you have the address, I will break away from here.'

Control: 'Thank you E21 the address is 14 Daisy Avenue - can I confirm you are single crewed?'.

E21: 'Yes I am. Can you show me on route? Do you have any history on the address and any known occupants?'

Control: 'E21 please approach with caution, there are pages of history on this address - flags for domestics and has child protection markers. The occupant is Lilly JONES, born '82 and there are three children shown at the address, all under 10. Shown linked to the address is Jimmy WOOD 18.04.79 Warnings: Assault Police, Weapons, Firearms, Contagious, Violent. He has a DVPO in place from two days ago - preventing him returning to the address. Apparently we went round and he had thrown a chair through the front window.'

E21: 'Roger that, bearing all that in mind, are there any units that can back me?'

Control: 'Any units to back E21 to 14 Daisy Avenue on the Flower Estate. They are single crewed, numerous markers identified?'

Radio Silence

Control: 'E19, E30. Can you break away? E21 needs back up and you are the closest'.

E19: 'E19 control, I am a good 15 mins away - I will make towards, but is there not anyone closer?'

Control: 'E30?'

E30: 'Yep, just depositing a charming chap in the Bridewell and then I will be towards. Can you remind me of the address?'

Control: 'Thanks E30. Yes it is 14 Daisy Avenue, occupant Lilly JONES. Linked offender Jimmy WOOD.'

E30: ‘Did you say Jimmy WOOD?’ He hasn’t been out long for GBH. Request talk through to E21?’

Control: ‘Go ahead.’

E30: ‘E30 to E21?’

E21: ‘Go ahead.’

E30: ‘Watch yourself there Jo, he is a nasty piece of work - he’s gonna kill her one day.’

E21: ‘Understood.’

Radio Silence

E21: ‘E21 control, just landing. I can see a man at no. 22 with a young child. Can you give me the name of the informant?’

Control: ‘E21 our informant was Dave Calander. He stated that he was at 22.’

E21: ‘Just speaking to him now. He has a child from 14 with him. The child is in his PJ’s, he is about 3 years and very distressed. Say’s daddy hit mummy and mummy is lying on the floor. I am going in to no. 14 control. Can I have units towards please?’

Control: ‘E19 and E30 ETA please?’

E30: ‘Just trying to get out of the back yard.’

E19: ‘I am making but still a good 10 mins away.’

Radio Silence

E21: ‘Control, signs of a disturbance.. front door window panel is broken, blood in the front hall, hang on.’

Radio Silence

Suddenly your radio starts vibrating a beeping, and you can hear the sounds of shouting and what sounds like a scuffle over the air. You realise that E21 has pressed their emergency button.

E21: '..... 1010 *heavy breathing* ..... 1010 control.. E21*breath* 1010, FUCK urgent assistance.... 14 Daisy.... *heavy breathing* Aggghhh ... BACK OFF, PUT IT DOWN YOU... FUCK.....'

Control: 'All unit towards. 14 Daisy Avenue on the Flower Estate. Officer requires urgent assistance. E19, E30?'

E30: *sirens* 'Making.'

E19: *sirens* 'Control - do we have any dogs or traffic in the area?'

Control: 'Papa Delta 21, are you on this channel.... Papa Delta 21, are you on this channel.'

Radio Silence

You can feel the tension grow as you wait for the next radio transmission.

E30: *sirens* 'E30 - 2 minutes.'

E21 still has their emergency button engaged and you can hear the sounds of a fight, and heavy breathing then:

E21: 'Control, *breath* offender has made off on foot *breath* down Daisy Avenue, in the direction of the town centre. *breath* He is one Jimmy WOOD wearing green cargo trousers, dark trainers and a bright blue tee shirt. He is violent. *breath* Units to be aware... *pause* he has my baton, he took my baton...'

Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E21

You are Jo. You are a response officer on E group in the busy town of Sandford. You have been a PC for eight years now, with the majority of the time spent on group, with 18 months on the tasking unit, and six months attached to the burglary squad, but that was a while ago. You enjoy your job but over the last few years it has become increasingly demanding with the reduction in officer numbers. You feel tired and disillusioned as you don't feel that you are making the difference that you want. Two years ago you passed your sergeants exam and you have been trying to get an acting

position to complete your portfolio for promotion. However, all moves within your BCU have been denied unless you can do a straight swap - but nobody wants back on group.. and Westshire aren't looking to recruit any time soon. You have been married for three years and your other half is keen for you to start a family. Before you do, you would prefer to be off shifts and promoted. Actually, truth be known, you would prefer to be in bed asleep, after a pizza and a bottle of wine, but hey. Bills don't pay themselves.

Coming into this late shift you were hoping to complete the paper work that has been hanging around for a couple of weeks, and carry out some CPS actions before you get another snotty email. You also need to update your crimes - hopefully with progress rather than a sit rep of the lack of resources on your team. Either way, you have a lot to do before you go off for rest days into nights and it is beginning to play on your mind.

As it is, you have been trying to squeeze in calls to witnesses between the constant demands from control. You are presently at a report of a disturbance at the back of the local high school, which you conclude was probably the local youths looking for somewhere to smoke pot, when you hear the call come up for 14 Daisy Avenue.

You don't want to go because you know you have so much to do tonight, and you actually could do with nipping back to the nick for the loo, but you can tell by the controller's voice that this incident needs responding too, and you also know that you are the closest unit.

When you get the details off the controller you can feel your stomach sink and the hairs rise on the back of your neck. First off, you doubted that this was going to be a quick job, and second, you felt a little concerned as to what you were going to be presented with. Regular single crewing hadn't increased your confidence in attending disturbances, particularly as any back up was likely some time away.

As it is, you switch on your blues and twos and make towards.

On arrival you see a man stood in the doorway of no. 22 and he is holding a young child. After confirming with control that this is the informant, you approach the man.

He tells you that he has heard a lot of shouting and screaming and the sound of breaking glass. When he looked out he saw the child in it's pyjamas running down the street. You can see from looking at the child that it is clearly distressed, it's face is streaked with tears but is now silent. When you go to talk to the child it turns it's head away from you. The informant tells you that the child said that 'mummy and daddy were fighting and mummy won't get up off the floor'. Heeding the earlier advice of E30 you fear the worst and make your way to 14 Daisy Avenue.

As you walk down the path of no. 14, towards the front door, you can see that the glass in the door is broken and the wood around the lock splintered. The door is slightly ajar and you can see into the hall and up the stairs.

You can see that there has been a significant disturbance, there is a hole in the wall by the bottom of the stairs and blood on the banister, there are toys and a pram strewn in the hall way and the door to the kitchen at the back is half open. You can just see a foot and the bottom half of a woman's leg lying on the floor behind the door. Your concern is that this is Lilly and you don't know what state she is in, or whether she is alive... You are an officer and your first duty is to preserve life.. you also have to make sure that you are safe too, but you are the police and this lady needs you.

You listen intently to see if you can hear anyone else in the house, which you can't, but the hairs are up on the back of your neck and you can feel the pounding of your heart catching in your throat.

You starting making your assessment - I mean, you're not thinking those words in your head, you're thinking: is the offender still here, how far away is back up, is there a back entrance, how injured is the woman, is she dead, what will happen if you go in, what will happen if you don't.. what is behind that door on the left... as you are doing this you loosen the catch on your CS pouch and pull out your asp. You don't hear anything, you need to go in, but with caution. And you need to let control know what you are doing..

As you slowly push open the front door you update the controller:

E21: ‘Control, signs of a disturbance.. front door window panel is broken, blood in the front hall.. hang on.’

You hear a noise from the living room on the left and the door starts to open.

E21: ‘Police - come out slowly and show me your hands.’

Your heart is in your mouth, which is dry and your breathing is so shallow as you strain with your ears and eyes to understand what is going to happen next. You focus on nothing else but the opening of that door..

As it opens you see a male, 5’11’’, broad shoulders, pumped arms, late 30’s early 40’s, you suspect that this is WOOD and he looks like he is raging, his face is red and his eyebrows are drawn downwards over wide glaring eyes.. and he is moving at speed towards you.

It only takes seconds for him to cross the couple of feet between you, only long enough for you to get the words ‘SToP!’ out.. the ‘Back off’ that you were going to follow it up with is cut off as you begin to speak, as Jimmy WOOD grabs you by your body armour and slams you again the hall back wall, you grab his arms to try and break his grip but he is raging - his face is so close to you that he is breathing stale alcohol and spittle on your face, and you can feel it hitting your cheeks and lips. You turn your face as you try to pull his hands off your body armour but WOOD practically picks you up and throws you onto the bottom of the stairs almost falling on top of you. Winded you are now looking directly into WOOD’s eyes and there is almost a few seconds pause as you can see WOOD contemplating his next move - deciding what he will do with you. You can’t breath, you can’t move, and you can’t get away. You briefly consider the woman lying in the kitchen - has he killed her, if so, what has he got to loose - what will he do to you?

At the time you don’t realise it but during your ‘scuffle’ you have dropped your baton - WOOD though is aware of this and lets go of you with one hand to pick it up. Whilst still pinning you down he raises your asp above his head, high. You see the rage in his eyes, you realise that there is no rational thought going on in WOOD’s head - just

pure anger - and you try and prepare yourself for the blow, attempting to turn your back, drawing up your legs, whilst pushing WOOD away.

You press your emergency button.

E21: '..... 1010 *heavy breathing* ..... 1010 control.. E21*breath* 1010, SHIT urgent assistance.... 14 Daisy.... *heavy breathing* FUCK ... BACK OFF, PUT IT DOWN YOU... FUCK.....'

Just as you expect the blow you hear the sirens of E30 and E19 coming over the radio - you think you hear something about dogs but you aren't sure, what you are sure of is that WOOD has also heard the transmission and realises that the two of you won't be alone for long. He hesitates with his arm raised, you can now see that WOOD is becoming aware of more than just you and his focus of anger, you can see the cogs working in his mind as he too weighs up what he has to loose, and to your utter relief he takes a step back and takes one last look into the kitchen. WOOD throws some swear words in your direction, turns on his heal and runs.. still with your asp in his hand.

You drag your breath back into your lungs as the pain from your back and arms, where you have been thrown up against the wall and onto the stairs, floods into your body. You roll over onto your side and try to sit up on the foot of the stairs, at least everything works. As you look up you just see the rear end of WOOD running down the street. You get onto your radio..

E21: 'Control, *breath* offender has made off on foot down Daisy Avenue, in the direction of the town centre. He is one Jimmy WOOD; wearing green cargo trousers, dark trainers and a bright blue tee shirt. He is violent. Units to be aware... he has my baton, he took my baton...'

Control: 'Are you okay E21?'.

You think about it - you are badly shook up, but you think you are okay. You think about the woman in the kitchen and start making your way towards her..

E21: 'Pretty bruised and battered control, I'm okay - there is a woman lying in the kitchen, I will give you a full update shortly - can I have an ambulance towards?'

Control: ‘Roger that E21 - can you reset your emergency button please? We need to let other units through’.

Fuck, you think to yourself - you can’t remember right now in the heat of the moment how to reset your button - but you know that they are right and you need to get to it, as well as assess the female in the kitchen.

When you get into the kitchen you are disturbed to see the amount of damage and mess - there are broken items everywhere, the small round kitchen table is broken and collapsed in the middle with all the bits that were clearly on it scattered, the American style fridge has clearly taken a beating and is now leaning against the back door, the kids crayon drawing that is tacked on to the front hanging listlessly to one side. There is a knife stuck out of the back wall at right angles and the kitchen window is broken, the hole looking out into the black night of the small rear yard. Thinking about how WOOD had picked you up and thrown you onto the stairs - you can imagine how he might have done this to the woman who was now lying on the floor. You get down on your knees and look at the woman, she is out cold but you can detect shallow, ragged breathing. She has a bloody nose, a swelling eye, scrapes and cuts around her forehead and a split lip. Her blouse is half torn away from her chest and you can see bloody nail marks in the top of her chest, to the side of her rib cage you can see the beginnings of an almighty bruise, which could indicate internal bleeding. You look at the woman’s hands and they are bloody and cut along the palms - defensive wounds. This woman has fought for her life, and still is.

You get back on the radio to control and ask for a hurry up on the ambulance, in the back ground you hear the sirens getting closer. You try to steady your breathing as you have a few seconds to reflect on what has happened here, to both you and the victim. The adrenaline starts to flood through your body. Deep breaths..

After what seems like an age you hear the sound of the paramedic car coming towards, and it isn’t a moment too soon. The breathing of the woman which was once ragged, has become very shallow, and you aren’t sure but you think that she has stopped breathing. You get down on your knees and put your ear next to her mouth and look for the rise and fall of her chest. Nothing. You look for a pulse in her

wrist and neck. Again nothing. You take a deep breath and then you look for your resus shield in your pouch. You are willing the paramedic to get to you as you place the shield over the female's mouth, tilt back her head, seal your lips over the shield, aware of the rubbery mask over the woman's lips and feeling a bit sick - but at the same time ignoring your thoughts and breath. It isn't anything like when you have trained on resuss Annie - you are struggling to get the breath in. You wonder if there is a blockage in the air way and remove the mask to have a look - you can't see anything obvious but as you are looking a big bubble forms in the back of the throat, you see that it looks red and bloody. This doesn't look good, and you try again.

As you are just giving the second breath - which feels like trying to blow up a new balloon, you hear the paramedic car pull up, you hear the door slam and the sound of footsteps up the path. You could almost cry with relief, though you feel the tension rise as you frantically listen to the paramedic slowly walking up the hall. For Christ sake's hurry up!

When they walk in they start asking you questions and carrying out checks on the woman, they ask if you know the woman and the back ground - all you can give is suppositions at the moment, but you suspect that your assessment of domestic assault isn't going to be too wrong. At that point a second siren pulls up outside of the address, and you can hear the roar of the ambulance's engine. They are really heavy machines. You hear two car doors go and two ambulance technicians walk in. They speak with the paramedic and methodically get to work, keeping notes on their clip board as they go. You step back and get out of their way - letting them do their work.

You call up on your radio and show the paramedic and ambulance on scene.

A few minutes later you see your Sgt walk into the kitchen. You really don't feel like talking. You feel a bit shit. You have had a fight, and you are exhausted from the adrenaline surge, you have been sweating from the fight, but now that you have been stood still you can feel the sweat cooling and making you cold underneath your stab vest. You are sore, you need the loo, you are hungry and you are extremely worried about what everyone is going to say about the decisions you made that got you to

the point of losing your baton. You don't need the sergeant's opinion on this right now. You need to be left alone.

The sergeant ask you a few questions, but you just shrug your answers. A woman is dying right in front of you, and you let the would be murderer get away.

You watch the paramedics work, getting her onto the spinal board. As they start to move out your sergeant asks you to go in the back of the ambulance. Which is okay with you. You follow the ambulance crew and try and stay out of the way as they carrying on working in the back of the ambulance. You watch as you make your way to the Queen Ann.

****

****

You have been in the hospital for 10 mins now in resus, you are watching the doctors and nurses working as fast as they can on the female - they are trying everything. You have seen a chest drain go in, and she is wired up to all sorts of machines. Her heart won't beat on it's own, and they have shocked her several times now.. You see the doctors and nurses look at each other, you can see the joint decision making going on, doctors agreeing each decision with each other. They give one last shock, but there is nothing. They step back. Everybody stops working. A doctor calls the time, and it is over. She didn't make it. Your heart sinks. The hairs go up on the back of year neck. You feel shit. You don't want to call it in. On one hand you are devastated at what you have just seen, you can't help think about the children that have just lost their mother, and that little kiddie who saw their daddy kill their mum, that is going to fuck them up. But at the same time you are really anxious about how this is going to look in the cold light of day. When the murder investigation is in full swing, and they have their first full briefing in the morning - they will be wondering how you let the murderer go. With your baton. You start sweating again. What a shit night.

You get on the radio.

E21: 'Control - can you give me a call on my personal mobile please?'

Very quickly your mobile rings. It is the control room - you update them as to the situation and ask them to get your sergeant to give you a call. You need to know the next steps.

Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E05 Group Sergeant.

You are Sam. You are E Group Sergeant. You have been in the job for 14 years, and you have been a Sgt for 7. You are very proud of the job that you do, your professionalism and your work ethic. You consider yourself fair but firm. You love your job, but you feel that the organisation and the government, and to some extent the public, don't care about police officers. More and more you feel that you and your officers are being used to clean up societies mess. You see how the failure to resource the other social and emergency services is taking its toll on the police service, these days the majority of calls are related to mental health issues, and pretty much everyone who comes into custody has a mental health issue. You feel that this leaves the police vulnerable as they are trying to do a job that they just aren't designed for. On top of this is the 'austerity' measures that have seen the stripping away of police resources and the ability to service calls. Now, it is just about all that your team can do to service grade one calls. This has an impact on the public, who can no longer expect to see an officer for several days when they report their burglary or TFMV. It also has an impact on your team who are exposed to relentless levels of violence and distressing incidents and don't feel that they are able to deliver the service they would want.

You have recently been thinking about making a career change, the recent changes to pension terms has really impacted you and you now have significantly longer to do before you can draw your pension. You feel exhausted and undervalued, but with a family and three children looking to go to university, you just don't see a way forward other than staying put.

Coming into today's late shift you were hoping (against odds) that you would have a chance to review your team's crime queues and make some updates. You know that in the next few days the DCI is going to be making his 14 and 28 day serious crime

reviews, and you don't need your shift flagging up again on the monthly performance meeting.

Walking in the back yard you can see an absence of vehicles that doesn't bode well, you head feels a little think as you admit to yourself that you drank a little more red wine than you should have when you came home last night. You suspect that this is going to be a very long shift.

****

It is 23.00 hrs and you are actually in the station trying to carry out some of your shift paper work. You have the majority of your team in custody dealing with handovers and you have three units out, singled crewed. Two panda's and one van.

At 23.03 you hear the controller shout up on the radio: 'anyone available to attend a report of raised voices and things being thrown on the Flower Estate?'

You know no one will answer as all units are committed.

Radio Silence

The controller comes back on the radio: 'we have multiple reports of screaming and disturbance, one informant can see young child out in the street, clearly distressed - units towards please?'

At the same time your phone rings - it is the 2nd dispatcher from the control desk.

Controller 2: 'Hi Sarge - can we make you aware of a disturbance at 14 Daisy Avenue on the Flower estate? There are pages of history on this address - flags for domestics and has child protection markers. The occupant is Lilly JONES, born '82 and there are three children shown at the address, all under 10. Shown linked to the address is Jimmy WOOD 18.04.79 Warnings: Assault Police, Weapons, Firearms, Contagious, Violent. He has a DVPO in place from two days ago - preventing him returning to the address. Apparently we went round and he had thrown a chair through the front window. We only have one unit towards at the moment E21'

E21 is Jo - a pretty experienced cop, in the promotion process. They can be pretty annoying as they have a tendency to question your decisions - this pisses you off and you think they are a bit cocky. Passing an exam doesn't make you a Sergeant - and it is alright making decisions when you don't have to take responsibility for the consequences.

Sgt: 'Okay, Jo knows what to do - make sure they approach with caution and that you get some other units to back them up. I will listen out but I don't have any keys. What is the incident number?'

Controller 2: 'Incident log is 177. Can I also make you aware of three other grade one's that are outstanding? We have a report of a sexual assault, and abandoned 999 - which we think was a child but we can't get a call back, and a fight at the Electric Arms, which was half an hour ago but we haven't had any other calls. We also have three outstanding burglaries, all over an hour old'

You listen to the controller and sigh - what can you do? You don't think anybody at the top gives a shit about the lack of numbers, they just want you to resource jobs, but don't give you any ideas as to how. That is definitely your problem. You make mental note to email the Supt again.

You listen to your radio as you review log 177 and have a look at the history on the address and the linked offender WOOD - he would be a complete idiot to go back to the address, but there is no accounting for people. You look at the call in from the informant and you have a feeling that the main event maybe over, but that might just be wishful thinking.

As you are listening you hear E21 updating as they make their way to the address - you wish they would wait until back up was closer, but you just don't have the luxury of back up these days, and there could be an injured victim and/or another child in the address.

You wait and then suddenly your radio starts vibrating a beeping, and you can hear the sounds of shouting and what sounds like a scuffle over the air. You realise that E21 has pressed their emergency button.

E21: '..... 1010 *heavy breathing* ..... 1010 control.. E21*breath* 1010, FUCK urgent assistance.... 14 Daisy.... *heavy breathing* Aggghhh ... BACK OFF, PUT IT DOWN YOU... FUCK.....'

'Jesus!' You can only guess that WOOD was still in the address and Jo is now in trouble.. bollocks.

You run out of your office and look at the key board. Empty as you knew it was - apart from E25, which you can see is out of action as someone has written 'FUBAR' next to the keys. You remember that D group fucked it up going to fast over the Sandford rail bridge, and sent the suspension through the engine cavity. Your adrenaline fuels your anger as you mentally rebuke the drivers of D group and their less than competent Sgt. In a moment of inspiration and rebellion you think of the CID office and their board of unmarked vehicles. You run up the stairs two at a time as you listen to E30 and E19 making towards the address. Nothing more from Jo.

You find the vehicle board and grab the keys for an unmarked Fiesta. You know they will kick off about uniform using their vehicles, but what else are you meant to do?

You run down to the back yard and at the same time update the control room.

E05: 'Control, I've grabbed some keys from CID - show me towards. Do we have any other units in the area?'

Control: 'Thanks Sarge, we have E19 and E30 making.'

E21: 'Control, *breath* offender has made off on foot *breath* down Daisy Avenue, in the direction of the town centre. *breath* He is one Jimmy WOOD wearing green cargo trousers, dark trainers and a bright blue tee shirt. He is violent. *breath* Units to be aware... *pause* he has my baton, he took my baton...'

You breath a sigh of relief.

E05: 'E05 control, I will head towards the address, can you pass the description of the offender again? Request talk through?'

Control: 'Yes, go ahead.'

E05: 'E30 can you area search please, I will get to Jo - keep me updated.'

As you make your way to the Flower Estate, listening to the control room co-ordinate the ambulance and the area search, you think about Jo's update. You can't believe that they have let WOOD take their batton.. you are not impressed. You realise that your heart is pounding in your chest, and you ease off the accelerator.. your heart sinks as you realise that you are probably going to be dealing with this for the rest of the shift. And more.

As you arrive at the address you see Jo's car outside no. 22 and the informant with the child. Looking towards where you presume no. 14 is you see an ambulance and a paramedic car. The street is lit up by the blue lights of the emergency service vehicles, and the light coming out of the now many open doors in the street. You pull up behind the ambulance and show yourself on scene. As you walk up the path you see the carnage in the front hall, the front door is smashed and broken, there is debris and the results of a fight in the hall, there is a hole in the wall by the bottom of the stairs and blood on the banister, there are toys and a pram strewn in the hall way. You can see into the kitchen at the rear of the address and two paramedics working on a female in the floor. Being aware that you are now in a crime scene, you careful pick your way through the scattered toys and broken bits of door and wall and into the kitchen, skirting round the body and the working paramedics. You can see Jo stood to the back of the kitchen, blue rubber gloves on, looking dishevelled and shocked, arms dangling down by their sides, staring at the paramedics and the woman.

Jo looks up to you and nods 'hi Sarge'. You ask Jo for an update and they just shake their head. You can see by the frantic work of the paramedics that this isn't looking good. You ask Jo what happened with WOOD and they just shake their head and look down and keep on staring at the scene on the kitchen floor. You ask how WOOD got Jo's batton, but they just cast you a glance from underneath furrowed brows, shift their weight on their feet, put their hands in their pockets and keep staring.

You see the third paramedic come in from the hall way holding a bit of equipment, you ask them for an update. They tell you that it is not looking good, they suspect significant haemorrhaging and internal bleeding and a punctured lung - they also think that there is a significant bleed on the brain. You watch as they carefully, but

quickly get the female onto a spinal board whilst still carrying out CPR. They have managed to get an air way, and attached a drip, and one is pumping an airbag that is over the female's mouth. As they pick the female up and careful make their way to the ambulance whilst carrying the drip, you ask Jo to get in the ambulance and stay with the female. You know that you need to have everything recorded - if she proves, anything she says before would be a dying declaration. To be honest though, you don't think she is going to regain consciousness.

About half an hour later you receive a call on the duty Sgt mobile from the control room. You are just finishing coordinating the scenes and cordon's. E30 and E19 are now on controlling the scene and you are trying to make arrangements for a blood hound to assist with the search for WOOD. You just don't have enough officers to execute a decent response, you have asked for the night shift to turn out from parade - but they have the problem of no vehicles. CID have been in touch and the nights DC and cover DS are on their way. You answer the call - they confirm your worst fears, this just turned into a murder enquiry. You ask them to update the duty DS and you give Jo a call. What a mare.

Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E19 - Patrol Car.

You are Jordan and a PC on E Group in Sandford Town. You have four years' service and were part of Westshire's last intake of recruits. You have a degree in policing studies and have just finished paying off your student loan. Though you find your job exciting and very interesting - you also find it very stressful and isolating. You don't know how people manage to cope with the things that they see and do, coupled with the intensity of the word load, the constant pressure to service the radio and the CPS actions. You feel you are sinking, and don't know what to do. One thing you are sure of is that you can't talk to anyone at work about it. Though you really get on with your team (some more than others) they don't talk openly about feelings and emotions. You think it is a bit archaic, and it came as a shock when you first joined

but you quickly learnt to fit in. You have been talking to your parents and your girlfriend, and you are thinking that maybe you have made a mistake and you need to start thinking about an alternative career. The thing is, being a police officer was all you ever dreamed of, and you don't know what else you would want to do.

Coming into the late shift, you can see that the day turn have been run ragged, and it doesn't bode well for your tour of duty. As it is you have faired pretty well - you were given a couple of drink drivers to process from the morning and you are now out back in a panda. However, the radio has been relentless and you still haven't managed to speak to that witness that you have been trying to get hold of for weeks.

****

It is 23.00 hrs and you are at a concern for welfare, an elderly gentleman who hasn't been seen for a few days. You have forced entry to the address and have found the gent, in his front room on his sofa. He has clearly passed away whilst watching TV. Fortunately you don't think that he has been dead for long, as the room is very warm and decomposition has set in. It could have been worse. You are just speaking to the undertakers as they move the body, and completing the paper work. You have spoken with the Sgt. and there are no sus circs, so you expect to get away and back to the station to complete your paperwork and grab bite to eat.

Just as you are chatting the undertaker you here the control room shout up for the Flower Estate. You know that you are a good 15 mins away, so you don't shout up. After a couple of requests by the control room you hear E21 shout up and head towards. It sounds like it could be a nasty job and the control room asks for you to back up.

E19: 'E19 control, I am a good 15 mins away - I will make towards, but is there not anyone closer?'

You finish up with the undertaker - quite a chipper chap considering his job - and you get back in your panda. You can hear that E21 has made it to the informant and it isn't sounding any better.

E21: ‘E21 control, just landing. I can see a man at no. 22 with a young child. Can you give me the name of the informant?’

Control: ‘E21 our informant was Dave Calander. He stated that he was at 22.’

E21: ‘Just speaking to him now. He has a child from 14 with him. The child is in his PJ’s, he is about 3 years and very distressed. Say’s daddy hit mummy and mummy is lying on the floor. I am going in to no. 14 control. Can I have units towards please?’

At the request of the controller and E21 you get a bit of a hurry on.

E19: ‘I am making but still a good 10 mins away.’

E21: ‘Control, signs of a disturbance.. front door window panel is broken, blood in the front hall, hang on.’

Radio Silence

Suddenly your radio starts vibrating a beeping, and you can hear the sounds of shouting and what sounds like a scuffle over the air. You realise that E21 has pressed their emergency button.

E21: ‘..... 1010 *heavy breathing* ..... 1010 control.. E21*breath* 1010, FUCK urgent assistance.... 14 Daisy.... *heavy breathing* Aggghhh ... BACK OFF, PUT IT DOWN YOU... FUCK.....’

Control: ‘All unit towards. 14 Daisy Avenue on the Flower Estate. Officer requires urgent assistance.

As you put your blues and twos on you realise that you are still some 10 mins away, and it sounds like Jo is getting a bit of a kicking. You feel the adrenaline rise up through your body as you try and figure out the quickest route to the Flower Estate. You also feel angry, angry that your resources are so stripped that there is no one close enough to back Jo, angry that you are all single crewed, angry that you are now put in this position, and angry that no one high up enough to change all of this will actually care if Jo gets injured tonight.

E19: *sirens* ‘Control - do we have any dogs or traffic in the area?’

You make towards, the hairs are up on the back of your neck and you are straining to hear the sounds of the fight coming over from Jo's radio, desperate for Jo to shout up. You hear that Sarge has grabbed some CID keys and is on the way too. None of this feels good.

E21: 'Control, *breath* offender has made off on foot *breath* down Daisy Avenue, in the direction of the town centre. *breath* He is one Jimmy WOOD wearing green cargo trousers, dark trainers and a bright blue tee shirt. He is violent. *breath* Units to be aware... *pause* he has my baton, he took my baton...'

relief

You continue making towards.

E05: 'E05 control, I will head towards the address, can you pass the description of the offender again? Request talk through?'

Control: 'Yes, go ahead.'

E05: 'E30 can you area search please, I will get to Jo - keep me updated.'

E19: 'Control, talk through please?'

Control: 'go ahead E19.'

E19: 'Sarge, do you want me to the address or area search?'

E05: 'Area search please E19.'

E30: 'E19, I am coming in at the Lavender Road side of the Estate, do you want to cover the London Road exit?'

E19: 'Roger that E30.'

You head towards.

Role Play Scenario One: 14 Daisy Avenue. E30 - van driver.

You are Kerry and a PC on E group in Sandford Town. You have been a uniformed officer for 18 years now and love your job. Most of your time has been spent in Sandford - you have had a few stints in none uniformed roles, working on the burglary

squad and you were seconded to the HAZLEWOOD operation investigating the double murder on the Flower Estate, where you acted as community liaison. You know the area really well and you know all of the 'locals', and you have watched as the children of the well-known families have grown up and entered the criminal justice system. Things have become difficult in recent years and you don't feel that you are able to make the difference in the local community that you would like. Unlike when you were part of the local neighbourhood team, the only time that you get to talk to anyone is when you are reading them the caution. Which doesn't help police/public relations.

You worry about the younger officers on the team - the work at the moment is relentless, and the exposure to death and violence is significant, there seems to be no respite from the destruction that humans can do to each other.

You got lucky with today's late shift as you been have allocated the call sign E30, which means that you are the van driver for the evening. Hopefully this means that you shouldn't pick up too many jobs - you have one handover to process and have been given a lift up to the Bridewell to charge and remand an outstanding offender that the day shift picked up, and then you can pick up the van keys from your colleague who is tucked up with a GBH.

****

It is 23.00 hrs and you are dropping off a prisoner as you hear the controller shout up for a unit to attend 14 Daisy Avenue on the Flower Estate. You are still queued up in the rear yard, so you know you can't make it. You realise that you know the address, which is the H/A of Jimmy WOOD's girlfriend, Lilly JONES with whom he has a two year old kiddy. Wood is a nasty piece of work, and has just got out after 18 months for assault - he has also been done for domestic violence on both JONES and a previous partner.

You hear Jo, who is in E21 call up and take on the job. Thinking on it for a moment, you decided to give Jo the heads up.

E30: ‘Did you say Jimmy WOOD?’ He hasn’t been out long for GBH. Request talk through to E21?’

Control: ‘Go ahead.’

E30: ‘E30 to E21?’

E21: ‘Go ahead.’

E30: ‘Watch yourself there Jo, he is a nasty piece of work - he’s gonna kill her one day.’

E21: ‘Understood.’

As you finish speaking a slot becomes available in the rear yard, and you jump out and help the arresting officer remove their prisoner from the cage at the back. You are chatting away with both the OIC and the prisoner, but you are also keeping one ear on the radio. You know WOOD and there is a chance that you could be a help if Jo runs into him.

You help the OIC get his prisoner into the holding area in custody and start making your way to your van. You are aware that Jo is on scene and talking to the informant.

Suddenly your radio starts vibrating a beeping, and you can hear the sounds of shouting and what sounds like a scuffle over the air. You realise that E21 has pressed their emergency button.

E21: ‘..... 1010 *heavy breathing* ..... 1010 control.. E21*breath* 1010, FUCK urgent assistance.... 14 Daisy.... *heavy breathing* Aggghhh ... BACK OFF, PUT IT DOWN YOU... FUCK.....’

Control: ‘All unit towards. 14 Daisy Avenue on the Flower Estate. Officer requires urgent assistance. E19, E30?’

Your stomach sinks and the adrenaline spikes in your veins. You run the last few steps and jump into the driver’s seat of the van. You hit the blues and twos and manoeuvre the van around in the rear yard. You hit the radio:

E30: *sirens* ‘Making.’

You realise that other units are a long way from arriving on scene and you are the closest. After some frantic shout up's for other units and dogs there is nothing other than the sounds of a fight and heavy breathing on the radio, you squeeze the accelerator.

Just as you are getting to the edge of the Flower Estate you hear Jo's voice coming over the radio.

E21: 'Control, *breath* offender has made off on foot *breath* down Daisy Avenue, in the direction of the town centre. *breath* He is one Jimmy WOOD wearing green cargo trousers, dark trainers and a bright blue tee shirt. He is violent. *breath* Units to be aware... *pause* he has my baton, he took my baton...'

Thank God Jo is okay, but you become aware that there is a victim at the address - you hope you weren't right in prophesising Lilly's death..

At that point you here your Sgt call up - he requests you to conduct an area search for WOOD. You know both WOOD and the estate well - you are in a good position to find him, and Jo's batton.

Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the station. E19 Jordan.

After a failed area search you head towards Daisy Avenue and pull up outside of the cordon at the end of the road. You can you see your Sergeant talking to the DS and the uniformed Inspector. You jump out of your car and walk towards them. As they see you coming their faces light up a little. You are immediately placed on scene guard and given a log to run. A little while later a member of the night shift comes along to relieve you of your vehicle keys.

Eventually you get relieved and you return back to the station and head into the report writing room. You are just finishing up your death report for your earlier job, when Jo comes in and sits heavily down next to an unattended computer and switches it on. Jo looks shattered and deflated. You feel for them, they have had a shitty night, and now they have the lengthy task of writing up their statement. You

want to say something, but don't know what. You can't talk about how you feel - and you are sure that if you asked, Jo would just say that they were okay, particularly with the others around. Feeling confused and frustrated in your ability to help you carry on writing up the death report. You decide to offer to help out Jo with the death report from the murder, as much as the coroner has been made aware by the DI that there has been a murder, they still need the formal paper work for the death.

After a while the Sgt walks in and asks Jo for a debrief for the hand over. One of the night shift make some wise crack that isn't called for. Jo looks thunderous and gives an account. Everyone is listening and it feels awkward. It is also really obvious that Jo has had some hairy moments, but the account is professional and factual.

Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the station. E21 – Jo.

You're finally back at the station. You were picked up from hospital by the night shift and taken down to the scene at 14 Daisy - you presumed that you were going to pick up your car and go back to the nick to write your statement - however, when you got their you were told to turn your keys over and to help with the scene guard. You are not impressed. You have stood on scene for a couple of hours, covered in the deceased blood. This has just lead to you stewing on the events of the evening - you are going over and over in your mind what happened and whether you could have done anything different.

When you get back to the station you are knackered, and you feel like everyone is looking at you and talking about you. You hate the thought of having to stay and write up your statement - it will take hours and you need to make sure that you cover your decision making. You skulk into the report writing room and drop down into a chair by an available computer. You don't talk to anyone but just wait for you computer to fire into life. You try and hide the shiver of tiredness that runs through your body. You are exhausted, bruised and sore and tired and clammy. You are pissed off that you have dealt with all of this and nobody has checked to see if you are okay. You managed to get to the loo at the hospital and get a maxpac cup of

coffee but that was hours ago. You are pissed off that you stood on the scene with the blood of the victim still on your flory.

The sergeant walks in and asks for a debrief. That idiot from B relief makes some jibe at the good work that you have done and you are really fucked off. You know that it is showing on your face, which must look like thunder, but you do not care.

With attitude you de brief the Sgt.

Everyone else listens in silence.

You feel uncomfortable and under pressure. You are really pissed off that no one has looked out for you - and now you are being asked to give an update, which is undoubtedly going to make you even later. At the same time, you want to give a good account of yourself, as you pride yourself in your professionalism and believe that your decisions and action were sound, and that you have acted bravely (which no one has noticed).

Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the station. E30 Kerry.

After a failed area search you head towards Daisy Avenue and pull up outside of the cordon at the end of the road in the van. You can you see your Sergeant, Sam, talking to the DS and the uniformed Inspector. You jump out of your car and walk towards them. As they see you coming their faces light up a little. You are immediately placed on scene guard on the inner cordon at no. 14. Pretty soon after a member of the night shift comes along to relieve the van keys.

Eventually you get relieved and you return back to the station and head into the report writing room. You see that Jo and Jordan are already in there, writing up the paper work. Jo looks shattered and deflated. You feel for Jo, they have had a shitty night, and now they have the lengthy task of writing up their statement. You can see that Jordan is looking a bit awkward and concerned, but not saying anything. You feel for Jordan too, they are really young in service, and they have joined at a tough time - and they are trying to make it through with minimal support. You want to say

something to both of them, but it just doesn't feel right. You make some joke about murder being thirsty work and you go and make a pot of tea. It usually helps.

After a while the Sgt walks in and asks Jo for a debrief for the hand over. One of the night shift make some wise crack that isn't called for. Jo looks thunderous and gives an account. Everyone is listening and it feels awkward. It is also really obvious that Jo has had some hairy moments, but the account is professional and factual.

Improvisation: 14 Daisy Avenue - back at the Station. Night Shift Officer.

You are an officer on B Group and are on the night shift, you have come in to find that the late shift have had a busy night. And managed to let a murderer go. The station is now full of Major Crime Detectives and there is a full homicide investigation and man hunt on.

You are in the report writing room with the remainder of the late shift who are writing up their reports and statements. It is late.

*engage however you want with your colleagues - when the Sgt comes in and asks for a debrief, say something along the lines of - 'great night, had a fight lost my baton, stood on scene guard, but at least there is some overtime'.

14 Daisy Avenue 121 with Jo. E Group Sgt Sam.

You have finished your update to the SLT and pulled together the elements of the handover to pass onto the MIT DI, you have handed this to the nights Sgt, and talked him through it. It is hours past when you were due off, everyone from E group has left. That is except Jo, who is still finishing their statement.

There is nothing more for you to do here, and you should really go. First you need to speak to Jo, see how they are doing. You go into the report writing room and call Jo into your office. You shut the door and ask Jo to sit down. Jo looks tired and you can see bruises appearing on the side of their head.

have a chat with Jo. Explain that you are going home but wanted to check in with them first to see how they are doing.

14 Daisy Avenue 121 with Sgt Sam. E21 Jo.

You are tired. You also feel stiff and sore. You are still writing your statement, but it is almost finished. It is well past the end of your duty and the rest of the team have left. Jordan hung around to try and help you but there wasn't much that they could and eventually went home. You are not sure whether your Sgt is still here or not, they haven't been in to see you. It is quite in the station and you feel that you are alone.

A few moments later your Sgt pops their head round the door of the report writing room and ask you to go into their office.

The Sgt closes the door to their office and asks you to sit down, you can see the night Sgt at the back of the room on the computer, probably updating crimes.

Appendix H: Role Play Observer Sheets.

Observer Sheet

Participant Number: **Scene:** **Character Being Observed:**

	WHAT Is Happening?	**Feelings of Character?**	**My FEELINGS if I were the Character?**
FACTS			
WORDS			

NVC's			
FEELINGS			

Appendix I: Initial Thematic Coding Contribution to Audio Diaries.

Missing Presumed

View life outside work through same lens as police work (noticing fingerprints on glass). Relate events in personal life to work, or vice versa.

More comfortable at work than in social situation or in personal life.

Only cry alone when no one is watching.

Pride in work - emotional coping strategy?

Emotional Suppression.

Emotional Immaturity.

Lonely, closed and removed.

Depersonalisation of all 'others' - including other police officers.

External pressures leading to emotional exhaustion.

Lack of Personal accomplishment - fighting against a tide.

Desensitisation.

Tense relationships with colleagues.

Officer's emotions devalued by senior officers.

No life outside of work (can't engage with hobbies). Does this link to lack of coping strategies?

Images of work follow into private and personal world.

Strong sense of inner and outer self.

Detached from the world - outside observer.

Feels depersonalised by the public.

Dissociated from self.

Can’t communicate with loved ones regards distress over work.

Triple 9

Corruption. Value dissonance.

‘Othering’ depersonalising sections of community.

Humour as dissociation and desensitisation. Reducing emotional reaction.

Aggression - abuse of power.

Devaluing of colleagues feelings ‘toughen up’.

Use of alcohol as enabler for conversation between officers.

Family expect officer to be tough and non-emotional. Not to feel ‘sorry for self’.

Aggression used to replace fear (also in pilot study).

Emotional suppression. Silence.

Maladaptive coping and depersonalisation - unit night out at strip club.

Protection of family above all else.

Happy Valley

‘Othering’ of other police officers.

Crying where others can’t see (in car).

Fake emotions ‘Big smiles’.

No emotional support given to colleagues - even when recognising that they need it or it is asked for.

No consideration of offender’s emotions and emotional motives - emotions lacking investigatively.

Emotional void.

Car as separate environment - different use of language.

Takes on problems outside of those allocated in work - desire/need/responsibility for everyone.

Protection of family.

Traffic Cops

Emotional void. Complete emotional suppression.

Decision to Pursue. Are emotions ever considered in decision making process - are emotions supressed and not considered? Does this effect the decision making process?

Supressing adrenalin - does the need to supress natural emotions, bring out unexpected alternative emotions (does supressing fear bring out anger - also found in pilot study).

Depersonalised language.

Police cars as separate environment - change in behaviour and language.

Are police officers allowed to have fun?

Appendix J: Audio Diary Coding Contribution for Interview Structure.

Thematic Analysis - Sequential Research Design.

Data Corpus (Braun and Clarke, 2006). All audio diary entries.

Data Set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The 25 audio diary entries selected (first two for all participants at this stage (no.25 being the last to contribute).

Data Set.

Audio Diary Participant Number	Number of Audio Diaries in Thematic Analysis.
Participant 2	2
Participant 3	2
Participant 4	2
Participant 5	1 (only one contribution at time of transcription)
Participant 6	2
Participant 7	1 (was recorded as two but were sequential)
Participant 8	2
Participant 9	2
Participant 10	2
Participant 13	1

Participant 14	1
Participant 15	1
Participant 18	2 (submitted at time of transcribing)
Participant 21	1
Participant 25	2 (submitted at time of transcribing)

Data Item (Braun and Clarke, 2996). Individual audio diary entry.

Braun and Clarke (2006) Six Phases of Analysis.

Phase 1: Familiarize yourself with the data.

The data has been transcribed by the researcher, who was an audio typist for the police, prior to becoming a police officer. This transcription is verbatim, including pauses, laughter et c. The 25 data items where then pulled together to create one data transcript.

Phase 2: Generating the initial codes.

The data set which now contains the single transcript - without participant identifiers, numbers, or between first or second diary entry - is placed in a table on landscape, creating 86 pages from 38 thousand plus words.

The initial codes were generated and recorded, initially via word 'comments' highlighting the text in question and general comments.

Out of these 54 initial codes were identified and a code book created (Table 2: Audio Diary Thematic Analysis Code Book). These when articulated in the thematic analysis table (Table 1: Audio Diary Thematic Analysis).

Table 2: Code Book

Code Number	Descriptive
1	Responsibility for others.
2	Surface Acting.
3	Display Rules.
4	Judging other officers who lose control.
5	Suppress Emotions.
6	Control of Fear.
7	Control.
8	Empathy.
9	Self-Doubt.
10	Hopelessness.
11	Anger.
12	Isolation.
13	Hide emotions from members of the public.
14	Protect members of the public from emotion.
15	Surface acting with colleagues at scene.
16	Surface acting back at station.
17	Debriefing does not cover emotions.
18	Performance and Capability measures - you are not capable of your role if emotional.
19	Role model for junior officers, so suppress emotions (don't let them see you weak).

20	Training teaches you to suppress emotions.
21	Depersonalisation of members of the public (less in the emergency service family).
22	Suppress emotions through humour (dissociation).
23	Dissociation from own feelings.
24	Deep Acting.
25	Anger expected by colleagues.
26	Emotional self-denial (dissociation).
27	Protect family - emotional suppression.
28	Problems created at home through emotional suppression and subsequent behavior.
29	Suppress compassion.
30	Display lack of emotion.
31	Value Dissonance due to presence of colleagues and expectations.
32	Emotionally Numb (dissociation).
33	Relate to self and family circumstances (what if).
34	Emotional Exhaustion.
35	Lack of Personal Accomplishment.
36	Anger is acceptable.
37	Dehumanisation of police officers (by mop, civilian staff, family) seen as robots, androids.
38	Consequences of emotional expression (consider your position, lose my ticket).
39	Acting as a police officer.

40	Dissociation from Event.
41	De-sensitisation - don't feel emotions feel should, know that are normal, dissociated.
42	Vulnerability.
43	Wearing a mask.
44	Suppressed anxiety.
45	Control of situation.
46	Suppress fear - display anger.
47	Learning not to show emotions by observing other officers.
48	Feeling of not being heard, or voice not valued.
49	Shame for having emotions.
50	Shame for losing control.
51	Avoidance of emotions.
52	Depression.
53	Overwhelmed.
54	Dissociation.

Phase 3. Searching for themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 89).

Started thinking about the relationship between the codes and which created overarching themes. Responsibility for others seemed strong and was often talked about. Dissociation is a known concept from the literature and is consistently referenced in different context. Isolation again seems very apparent and applies to all situations in an officers life. External influence falls out of officers trying to account for their behavior and decisions around emotional express or suppression. Depersonalisation again is drawn out of the literarure - but seems less apparent now

in comparison to other themes. Control comes through strongly on reading and is often talked about, in loss off or need for.

Table 3. Initial Considered Themes and Related Codes.

Theme	Codes.
Responsibility for Others	1, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 24, 25, 27, 33, 35, 45, 53.
Dissociation	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 36, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52.
Isolation	3, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 38, 39, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.
Shame	4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 113, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 35, 37, 38, 42, 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.
External Influence	3, 4, 6, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 48, 53.
Depersonalisation	4, 11, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 29, 31, 32, 36, 37, 39, 46, 48.
Control	2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 40, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 51.

Phase 4: reviewing themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 91).

Responsibility for Others still stands out as a key driver and motivator for officer's behavior and draws on social and organizational expectations and influence. To capture this I have generated three sub themes which actually relate to communities within an officers life:

- Public - to protect them emotionally and physically from others' actions and officers' emotions.
- Colleagues - to act as a role model and support to other officers and to not show that they themselves are affected emotionally, also to act and take over when another officer is 'emotionally compromised'.
- Family and Friends - to protect them from the horrors of police work and also the own officers' emotions and the impression that they might be suffering or unable to cope.

Isolation and Shame, these two themes have collapsed into each other, with one leading to or accompanying the other. They also include an element of motivation or external influence (which has been removed as a standalone theme as it was not strongly support in its own by the data). As an aside, these are also two key components leading to depression.

- Suppression of emotions - no place or person with who can openly express emotions - leading to feelings of isolation, either drawn through shame of emotions, or need to protect the other.
- Performance and weakness - shame and fear of judgement of not being able to do job due to experienced and expressed emotions.
- Feeling and Display rules - shouldn't feel emotions that are felt (shame) and shouldn't display or express emotions (isolation).

Dissociation and Depersonalisation, again these themes have collapsed into one another as they are similar and differ more in context than experience.

- Dissociation within self - unable to feel emotions that would be expected in a situation, whether at work or within personal circumstances.
- Control - actively avoid and control experience and expression of emotions, whether through suppression of empathy (depersonalization) or distraction and suppression of own feelings (dissociation).

- Intolerance of emotion - don’t tolerate emotions of other colleagues, public don’t tolerate emotions of police officers, including family and friends (depersonalization).

TRANSCRIBED DATA SET	INITIAL CODES	THEMES
Please consider any incident that you have been involved in that affected you emotionally? First one that comes to mind was one that actually happened two years ago, it was a murder when a violent stabbing, when I was going to this due to the radio signals that we were getting I felt very panicked and nervous about it, worried about what I was going to do. The role that I was in at the time obviously was carrying a firearm as well, I certainly felt that listening to the radio that this would have potentially ended quite differently, so obviously that was going through my head at the time, it was a dangerous drive up there as well, high speed, so there was a lot going through my head at the time, mostly I suppose around fear and different levels of that but at the same time you have to be in control of that and you can't outwardly show your fear, that there is fear going on, I suppose fear is the only way to describe it, I don't know if it is not like fear where you are not able to move or anything like that, so there is a lot going on, thinking about what is going on so you try, nervous for the victim, worried what the offender is going to be doing, you can't show that though so you have to be in control and there are certain things that you have to go through, procedures at the job, so you can't let that out, you have just got to be, I suppose, calm and compliant, calm on the surface. Arrival on the scene was a mess, in straight out to deal with the offender, so then that is up to ten with it being a fire arms incident, there is lots of weapons everywhere, shouting screaming and I suppose in that situation it does help to control your emotions and stay in control which I did. Other officers there were quite clearly lost it, one in particular was just shouting nonsense at the offender and I had to move in and assist another colleague, whereby there should have been the two colleagues there first, should have dealt with it but I had to basically take over for one because he was just being ineffectual. That put me in a dangerous position, hands on with the offender, there were injuries involved which led to other medical complications after that, but you just have to get on with it you can't again, you can't really think	1, 9 1 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, 7, 6, 20 2 42, 5, 6, 7, 45, 4, 42, 4, 42, 42, 51, 54, 43, 30 8, 8, 8, 9, 1, 9,	Violent Incident emotion panic nervous responsible for other's lives Responsible for other's lives Danger - fear hiding fear different types of fear control over emotions fear for others and of other's actions. Surface acting - 'you can't' not allowed to show emotion. Depersonalising emotions 'up to 10' stay in control Judge others on response and loss of control - no longer effective. Not explicitly about injuries almost denial and by product of situation – suppress emotions. Distress

about the emotions at that time, you have just got to stay straight faced and deal with the situation and then searching for the victim the house was an absolute devastating sight, that stirred up a lot of feelings in me to be fair, the amount of devastation in the house, I mean there was a lot of blood all over the walls and everything like that, the furniture was tipped up, one thing that always stuck in my mind was that, was that a giant American doubled chested fridge thing had been ripped out from the wall and thrown across the room and that sort of, it is hard to say what sort of emotions that brought up really but, again it was just fear for the victims that this person is going to be in a particularly bad state, just worry that this had all obviously stemmed off from a domestic situation and there is always a nagging feeling in the back of your head like, how has this happened, and it at least flashes across your mind, well 'god, could that happen to me, could I be like that' obviously not but a lot of things like that flash through your head, searching the house you are then panicked because you can't find this victims and you think, 'god what have I done, have I done something wrong, have I missed something?' So there is self-doubt there, mega sense of urgency but you have to be in control of that, you can't let that out, you have just got to be calm and think about it, and then the location of the victim, she was actually in a garden across the street, go to that - begin trauma care, first aid on her, feeling of hopelessness really the wounds that she had and the injuries that she had, just feelings of anger towards the offender, just hopelessness, there is not much that you can do, even though you are trying your best, and following the incident, worry that you have let somebody down, that you haven't done enough. Personally for me that woman, I suppose that was my first, because that was a very, it had a lot of effect on me. Unfortunately she died, and there is anger at ambulance crew for sort of not turning up quickly enough, anger at the response doctor who wasn't any help, anger at the trainers because there was a sort of wound, a particular wound that we had not been had before, and then again fear that 'have I done something wrong?' Self-doubt 'have I done something wrong', could I	5, 6, 10, 12, 8, 12, 11, 12, 9, 5, 35, 13, 14, 43, 4, 5, 11, 15, 16, 6, 2, 17, 1 5, 6, 18, 2, 9, 12,	Empathy, concern for others. Fear about what does this mean? I understand this emotion but what is it? Fear of failure, responsibility for others self doubt Hopelessness Anger towards offender, responsibility to victim and self doubt Anger and feeling of being let down. Isolation? Only one really trying? Fear and self doubt – fear of failing. Hide emotions from members of public, protect them from fear – their own and officers. Suppressing fear and anger at colleague and being placed in situation by colleague. Everybody outwardly congratulating each other – hiding blame and anger and judgement. Furface acting with colleagues (back at station?) Colleagues talk about process and tactics but not emotions never asked to express emotions.

have done something more? You can't show that. And then 'to what extent do you feel that you can open up how you felt to members of the public?' Obviously there were a lot of members of public around and they were all terrified, it was in a residential area, but you just have to say that everything is, you know, that there is nothing to worry about, the incident is over, you know put on a brave face. Your colleagues, yeah everyone pat each other on the back you did a good job, even the colleague who sort of didn't do a particularly good job, you gotta be, what I really want to do is shout and scream at him 'you put me in that situation that is wrong' but you can't be like that, it is not helpful, it is not, you shouldn't do that anyway I don't think. So it is just going on, even though I am covered in blood and injured, I am then reassuring him that he hasn't done anything wrong, and that he is okay, you know, it is a training issue or it is an inexperience issue, and there was a lot of people around who were asking a lot of questions and you just have to put on that brave face, 'it's okay, it's fine' you can't open up to your colleagues about how you feel, you can't say 'oh how do you feel going to that?' 'oh, I was scared' it is 'how do you feel? It sounded like it was going to be a good job and I thought we might end up shooting this chap' and everything like that went through my head, and oh yeah, good search and complimenting me on my tactics and that went really well, and this that and the other and there is no 'like, how do you feel' 'oh I felt pretty scared there' or 'I feel like I have done something wrong' or blah blah, that sort of thing. To what extent do you feel that you supress your emotions? So, a lot, massively, why do I think I suppress my emotions? Because you don't want to appear weak or incapable, you don't want to have your colleagues feel or think less of you or then potentially not feel that you are capable of doing the job that you know that you can do, but it is like that you can't show emotions because that is like in some way, may end up preventing you from doing it, which is not the case and since that incident I have come to sort of realise that but, you hide your emotions that you sort of dance around it, with little questions like 'oh what did you think about	12, 12, 18, 18, 7, 19, 16, 5, 5, 18, 20, 23, 8, 21, 5, 23, 26, 40, 20, 22, 9, 23, 5, 6, 7, 20, 30	Performance and capability – can't do job if emotional. So suppress emotions. Seeking reassurance as fearful of getting job right, but not being able to say that they are worried or concnerned about the incident so no learning. Caught between wanting to talk about emotions but potentially see as bragging about he job or looking like not capable or not coping – jealousy from other officers. Emotional suppression – fear of being viewed as weak want to be seen as capable and professional Role model for junior members (perpetuating culture). Trained to not show emotion - process (NDM) does not include a reference to emotions. Process helps avoid experienced emotions Empathy for 'emergency service family' allowed - not member of public - depersonalized. Avoid emotion through humour. Feeling dissociated from feelings.

that bit, and how did you think that went?' and what you are really after is that you did well, someone saying to you, you did well, that was fine, but what you get it *sucking in of breath* 'oh yeah, yeah maybe, yeah maybe', nobody wants to give you definite answers, you know it is hard to get that reassurance, unless someone is a close friend or whatever, but everyone wants to be involved in the job, sometimes there is almost a jealousy that you were involved in that job in a big way and another colleagues missed, so talking to them about something is difficult as well, colleagues that weren't there, or turned up afterwards, they just want to know how did it go, how did the search go, how was this, how was the offender this that and the other, and it makes you feel a little bit closed off and reticent about talking about it really and you sort of, it makes you feel that you shouldn't talk about it, because you don't want to seem like you can't handle it and you don't want to seem like you are bragging about it and you don't want to seem like you are incapable. So.. did you attempt to avoid any emotional reaction towards the incident? Yeah absolutely, what led me to make that choice? Because you want to seem professional and capable at all times, you don't want to seem incapable or weak, you don't want to seem scared, you want to seem in control and there, and act as a leader I suppose, I was quite senior on the team and you have to, and you have to be the leader for the younger ones, or lads and lasses with less service so yeah, you definitely make a conscious choice not let emotions come to the fray, as you don't want to appear weak, you know, you just gotta deal with it clinically in your head, that is the way that training goes, you are trained to deal with everything, spin the NDM, the National Decision Making Model, and you just deal with it un emotionally. To what extent did you attempt to engage with your emotions or to empathise with the incident or those within it? Not at all. A little bit at first. The victim had like a medical dress on and I thought she was a midwife, she wasn't but I thought 'oh that's that's..' you know and it crossed my mind, thinking she is part of the services family which is pretty bad, but to be honest I sort of avoided it. It was	16, 18, 19, 23, 11, 22, 36, 44, 46, 29, 23, 6, 2, 10, 9, 35, 25, 5, 23, 8, 5, 7, 20, 16, 26, 5, 26,	Emotional Suppression Control is a big thing. To be emotionally unagected (Feeling rules) for others and for self (not display rules) Deep acting - attempting to change internal emotional reaction. Humour to hide suppress emotion. Chose to display anger to cover fear, empathy - but also control anger, CONTOL. Public expectations - complied with but sad for other reasons. Failure. Anger maybe expected by colleagues, but calm and none emotional is main expectation. Lots of adrenaline and excitement but go about practical aspects - cleaning, showering. Then back out to work.

a big shock of a situation and I just didn't engage with it really, I just thought oh well it is just a job, I am just doing my job, that is fine I am not bothered by it, even making crass jokes about it, not about the victim or anything, but just trying to laugh it of and just being like 'yeah you know, we did our best ..' blah blah blah, even though in the back of my head I am thinking 'I didn't did I, did I do my best, could I have done differently, could we have got there quicker, have we let this person down?' It is a strange atmosphere. Did you deliberately choose to display an emotion that was different from the one that you were feeling inside? Yes. If so why did you choose to? I chose to act as if I wasn't emotionally bothered by it, as if I was just happy that we had done a good job and we had got to put into practice our training. Why did you do this? As before, just so that it appears that I am unaffected, so that you appear that you can handle it and that you are in control and better than everyone else, and in some ways it is for other people's benefit and in some ways it is for your own benefit so that you tell yourself that you are okay, but really maybe you are not. What was the emotion that you chose to display? I tend to try and make humour, and be humorous as a way of dealing with situations, to just almost, I just chose to display almost no emotion, but sometimes anger, like anger towards the offender, you know when you are talking about that person in anyway, and the emotions that you hide, your fear, feelings of like empathy with the victim, you are sorry for them and, sort of, well not empathy with the offender, but yeah just some fear, you certainly do suppress the anger as well as you can't go out of control. Did you feel an emotional response was expected of you, either by colleagues or members of the public? Not as necessarily, maybe members of the public would expect us to feel and show sympathy and sadness at what had happened sadness that the lady had died, and certainly we were sad, because you are sat there feeling that you have wasted your efforts, or that your efforts weren't good enough and that brings a lot of other things, with colleagues I don't know. I suppose some colleagues might expect you to be more angry towards things but again	18, 38, 27, 18, 12, 7, 28, 23, 32, 51, 12, 44, 51, 2, 3, 6, 5,	Offered services and declined… despite knowing that they were suppressing emotions. Pressure not to speak about true feelings - extra pressure due to role as more at risk if speak out - though irony that in this role more important to be healthy and have access to coping stragegies. Fear of worrying partner so protect by limiting the tuth. Causing problems at home short temper et c. whilst processing. Sleep loss - but still denying emotions to self. No one to talk to honestly - tell war stories and depersonalize - physical response in tension across shoulders.

there is always that notion in the back of my head that you have got to be calm or none emotion about it and deal with it like that. How did you feel when you got to the police station? Sort of, it was a very serious situation and so there was a lot of adrenaline, a lot of excitement I suppose still, built up by that, it had been a big build up and a lot of expectation of what would happen when we got there and even though it was a tragic event and it was very horrific to witness, you know there had been that extra level of adrenaline because of the nature of the work so there was just a lot of excess excitement, how did I feel, I cleaned my kit, washed my kit and had a shower and get back out. Did I feel that I was able to discuss my true feelings with colleagues? No. You can't can you, there is obviously a lot of people who say, we have got agencies and people that you can talk to, and you are like 'no, I don't need anyone to talk to we are fine'. Were you able to discuss your true feelings with your line manager? No, so especially so like in a specialist area like firearms and that where there is high stress there is always that fear that if you say anything like that then they will pull your ticket and then you won't be carrying and you will be off the street and that could put your future in jeopardy, so in a way it would be more beneficial if you could speak and you should speak but back to front nature of it is that you feel that you can't speak. Were you able to discuss your true feelings with anybody else? Somewhat with my partner, she is, I would say yeah I could speak to her somewhat but again she, you don't want to come home and make, and worry her and make her feel like you are unable to do your job or that you are you know, so, you only speak in broad terms and sometimes you are not always allowed to speak about jobs, so yeah I can but it comes out differently and then I suppose it can come out at home as snappiness and shortness of temper, and just cause rifts and then you feel bad that you had done that, which causes another reaction the other way, you just, it can take a long time to balance itself, and certainly with this situation it did affect me for quite a while. How did you feel when you got back home? I remember not being able to sleep, I didn't really sleep	7, 23, 22, 12, 30, 44, 12, 27, 18, 26, 23, 26, 23, 26, 3, 18,	Talk abit to partner but still fear being seen as weak. Alcohol removes inhibitions - so wary of drinking! Exercise to cope and actively not thinking about things. Suppress emotions - from self. Unwritten feeling rules - don't believe it when emotional display is encouraged. Only happens when it is too late. 'Bottle up' Suppression - lying about seeing occy health

that well, I remember it was a night shift, so just wide awake and not really knowing why, I suppose, because for all that time I was trying to suppress it and I am like I am not bothered by it which just came into so why am I feeling this way about it then? Oh well it must just be that I am awake. Are you able to discuss or acknowledge your emotions with anyone outside of the police service, there is no one really to speak to outside of the police service, we have all got going to your doctor I guess, friends and family? Yeah whenever anybody would ask me about jobs that I have been involved in, for a long time after that one it would always be oh yeah, that one - I would speak about that because it was obviously stuck in my mind, but I didn't, I didn't acknowledge that it was so stuck in my mind, I just thought that it was just a story to tell and you try and again, not embellish anything you try and talk yourself out of being emotional about it, you try and describe how yeah I did this and I did that and I was all in control blah blah blah, and again you are not really speaking about it you are just regaling what happened as if it is some fun story to tell and that again makes you feel worse. And being unable to speak about it, it just makes you feel tense I guess I just began to feel a lot of tension and a lot of tenseness and it is a, that particular incident, I think in the end I decided to display it as a tension across my shoulders. Is there any environment in my life where I think I can display or acknowledge my true inner emotions, this maybe on your own or with a colleague or other person. Any environment in my life where I can express my true emotions, I don't know. Probably not. I mean talking to friends and family and stuff I suppose, talking to my partner, she. I started trying to talk to her more about things like that but, still, still in the back of your mind you don't want to show any emotional weakness, yeah I think I suppose erm..stuff like that tends to come out when you are feeling a bit in other ways I guess, stuff like maybe when you have had a drink and it comes out a little bit like that and then you become wary of having a drink, do you have any coping strategies that help you with your experiences at work? Physical exercise I guess, keeping my mind off it was one way, I suppose a big	30, 32, 12, 18, 8, 31,3, 2, 5,	Officers need written assurance that they won't be seen as week if they speak about emotions. Emotional debreifings. Suppressing Empathy for offender - not wishing to be seen as naïve.

way that I do cope is just to forget things, you know some people ask me what did I do at work and I will be 'I don't know' because in my head I have just gone *phewwww* it has gone and people say 'oh it must be a really exciting job, tell us what you have done and tell us about some good jobs' and I will be like 'oh, I don't know' maybe one or two that I have probably been emotionally effected by, but most of the time it is 'yeah, I don't know' did some stuff, arrested somebody, because I am just pushing it out of my head I think. Do you think that there are any rules around emotional displays as a police officer? Unwritten rules yeah, and it depends what department you work in - but, if you are overly emotional again it can give off the wrong signal and that, no matter how many times someone will say it is okay to talk about things and it is okay to show your feelings and this that and the other, no one believes it and no one will ever actually do that unless it comes to ahead or close to ahead and then something happens as a result and then it is 'why has this happened' and then you have got to deal with it and sort of talk about it. How are emotions dealt with in the police force? Bottled up, put away, do it quietly and privately, speak to occy health speak to your line manager, don't let anybody know, lie about what you are going to see occy health about, you know, make up some false shoulder injury and say that you are going to physio when you are going to see the welfare officers or something like that. Yeah, that is pretty much - well I have done it anyway. What do you think the police service could do better to help police officers cope psychologically with their daily work? Policy that if you ask for help with an emotional situations that you are guaranteed an opportunity and ability to go back to your role, take that into account when dealing with situations that have occurred as a result of sort of emotionally bottling up things. Maybe have, within individual teams and stuff group meetings and stuff and say 'right who has got an issue' and talk about it and it is a decent place to be so let's everyone discuss about that accident or that job, or whatever, and then the sergeants can run it and it can be a case of if someone starts being stupid with it or whatever then they can be taken	8, 29, 30, 43, 15, 21, 25, 2, 5, 8, 21, 11, 6, 3, 7, 5, 8, 21 8, 18,	Depersonalisation Fear loss of control Suppress emotions and thoughts respect of rank and status - comply with display rules Suppressing empathy due to expectations of colleagues Lack of ability to show compassion and emotional discretion to offenders due to surveillance.

to task over it, but at the same time people have a safe place to speak about stuff. So recently we arrested a male who is a wanted male, a career criminal, probably quite a violent offender, but once it came to the crux of it this particular thing that caught my attention was that I felt sorry for the guy, due to his injuries and his life style, he had developed epilepsy over the last month and he obviously felt very sorry for himself and very regretful and yeah, just very sorry for himself and showing a lot of remorse for all the things that he had done and he was very nervous and very scared about his epilepsy and how it was going to affect him, but I felt that I had to hide my empathy and that because of my colleagues who were very much like, 'oh I know this guy from old and we have interacted with his type before and he is just lying' you know. It is, it is all an act. But I didn't feel that it was all an act, he had actual medication, he was terrified at one point, hyperventilating to get his medication, he felt that he was going to have a fit, and then in custody he felt that he was going to have a fit again, so he started an argument with the sergeant there and he got a bit of help. So I felt as far as suppressing emotions go I felt that I had to, I think, suppress my concern and empathy for the chap, in front of colleagues because obviously colleagues weren't buying it, and you know I did try and say a couple of times you know, he is seriously ill, maybe we should, you know, we should, then again he is obviously not the nicest guy in the world and I recognise that and I am not naive, but a person certainly deserves a second chance and I think that is, that is what the law is all about: punish them for one thing and then give them a second change. So emotionally I had to just sort of suppress it, you know, and it is hard to show that sort of thing in front on colleagues when there is an obvious air of you know 'this is a good job, I am glad we have got him, he deserves locking up, he is a you know, a wrongen' and all the rest of it. In custody when the Sergeant, the sergeant seemed to begin an argument with the guy, he was very short tempered, he wasn't interested, I think that is partly because of his role as a sergeant in	31, 8, 31, 18, 31 21, 5, 8, 7, 31, 21, 18 8, 5, 3, 31, 8,	Suppressed emotions and faked unfeeling and touch exterior to meet expectations of colleagues. Wanted to show concern, wished to express it to offender but complied with display rules. Value Dissonance - colleagues judge on history of offending, participant judge based on present moment - can't express true feelings. Value dissonance - are we expected to be authoritarian, do we always have to judge and condescend. Is this a public expectation?

custody, he you obviously, I imagine you get fed up after a while listening to the same stuff, partly because I think the sergeant himself felt quite intimidated by the guy, the sergeant even said 'you won't intimidate me' but I could see that the chap was genuinely scared, as far as that went I just had to leave it to the sergeant really, as a matter of personal courteousy, he is going to be looking after him, so I have to allow the sergeant there to get the upper hand on him, in that case but I think that he went about it the wrong way, but you can't say anything to a sergeant, and you can't go telling someone how to run their custody suit. Then when I came to it and I found an opportunity to speak I was just speaking to the chap and just like, right come on, you need to calm down you are only making it worse, but I could see that he was genuinely terrified, and I tried, I just felt that I couldn't express that empathy for him, because it wasn't acceptable to other colleagues. To what extent did you attempt to engage with any emotion or to empathise with the incident or those within it? Yeah, I mean I attempted to, the gentleman was arrested for the possession of a certain drug, he said that he used his drug for his, to treat his epilepsy himself, and I did empathise with that, but at the same time I had to arrest him, and I felt that, you know, perhaps I could have shown some discretion there, but the job doesn't allow for that anymore with implementation of body worn videos and stuff like that, it is right there and I could have found that drug and said, well okay, it is a drug there is some, but it is not a mega amount and I am just going to get rid of it, as a punishment, but if that had come back 'well what did you do with that drug?' 'well, I just threw it in the bin' and then it raises all sorts of questions about me, so you can't do it, you can't show discretion anymore, the job doesn't allow you to, which then stifles your own emotional responses to people and why they are doing certain things and your understanding and your empathy, and so I deliberately chose not to show any empathy to the guy, I wasn't cruel to him or mean to him, but certainly I had to put a bit of a blank, put a bit of a professional side down, and just try and, you know, try and be decent with him, but	8, 39, 13, 18 21, 29, 31, 21, 15, 1, 8,	Value dissonance - not the way that I would have dealt with it. Officer has had training so has a better understanding of trauma and how to speak to people.

at the same time, just not look in front of my colleagues, like I am letting him get away with anything or I am not being 'hard enough' on him, as perhaps you sometimes feel that colleagues want you to be. Certainly I wouldn't take it to the extent where I would allow anything to go ary, but it has certainly dealt the way that I have dealt with him, I would have probably been a bit more, concerned and a bit more vocal about my concerns with him, rather than just watching him to make sure that he wasn't going wrong, I would rather have asked him more actively. Yeah, afterwards, you know, everyone is of a certain opinion of a person then you can't, it is difficult to discuss it and you certainly don't want to discuss it and say, 'yeah, I feel sorry for the guy' he is a serial, you know a career criminal, what he has done is not exactly the worst things in the world and he has caused enough dramas and I am sure that he has been bad enough along the way, but I seem to be of the opinion you should judge a person how you should find them, rather than what they have done in the past, yeah. Like I say when we got to the police station, with the sergeant it was backwards and forwards, I mean there are certain ways of dealing with people and the way that the sergeant chose was certainly one way, and I wouldn't say that it was the wrong way, it certainly worked for what they required, but I think that there was an expected way that police behave and that is to get that authoritarian control, and then you almost end up talking down to people and there is very little ability to speak to people on a level playing field. It is like we are completely un-blameless for anything in the world, so I mean, I certainly don't feel that I am better than anyone else, I mean I haven't committed crimes, but, you know, how am I to stand over someone and tell them that, and likewise it is not our place to judge, and I do think that that is definitely an issue, police do, you do end up after a certain amount of experience and time in the job you do end up judging people, and I have judge people before and it has effected the way that I have treated them. When I got back home, well it didn't make me feel any different, I know that the guy was safe, and I knew that obviously he would see a doctor and end up	8, 32, 23, 41, 40, 41, 21,	Attempt to find correct emotional internally but felt detached.

alright, but I did feel bad about having to, erm get him for the drugs, because he was very honest, he was very open about it, he was like 'I use this to treat my epilepsy' and I had heard and read studies in other countries that it had been used for that sort of thing and I did feel a bit bad about it, but that is obviously following my job, if we had the discretion to make that decision then it might be a different way and I certainly don't think criminalising all drug offenses is certainly the way to go, certainly not personal use or stuff. I felt that I couldn't display the amount empathy that I wanted to with this guy, we also have a, a certain amount of responsibility to a person when they are in our custody, and I think that would be helped but just taking a lower playing field pragmatic approach and just being like 'look, you have done this, it is out of the question for me to even look at this now, you are under arrest, we have got to take care of you'. Training wise, one thing that sort of made me feel that way was I had done some quite advance trauma care and medical training through the job, so I have a bit of a better understanding of how things can effect people, and I think that if more police officers were better trained in first aid trauma care sort of stuff it might give them a bit more empathy to someone who has certain medical condition. I want to talk first about a sudden death I have been to recently and how it relates a bit to deaths that I have been to in the past and the sort of change of feeling and emotions towards it. The death that I went to this week was nothing unusual, it was a, a terminally ill male with a DNR in place. In his early eighties, he was still living at home with his wife, and it was the sort of death that if it had happened within doctors hours I probably wouldn't have even have become involved in these days, it would have been dealt with by his GP but, I found myself quite detached from it, and noticeably trying to force some sort of emotional response towards the wife who was very quiet herself, to be fair, so there wasn't a huge amount of emotion on display there to work with, which maybe a generationally thing, she was a quite sort of stoic character, and I get the impression that that's how that family has	34, 53, 54, 41, 40 8, 54, 41, 32, 8, 32, 35, 40,	Places emphasis on emotional sensitivity and relates to own experience 'what if'. Emotional Exhaustion, Depersonalisation, Compassion Fatigue?

always been. But normally I am quite happy to engage with the next of kin at deaths, and I don't feel like it is something that I have struggled to do, sort of empathise quite genuinely with people. I won't say that I enjoy going to sudden deaths by any stretch, but I have always volunteered for them because I think that there is a certain way that they should be dealt with, and I think that not all officers are necessarily in agreement with that. And I like to think that in my own situation, I do think that there are certain officers who I work with who I wouldn't want to come and deal with me, if I were in that situation of losing someone and the police were coming out to take a report, and that is not necessarily because they are bad police officers, it is just because they are a bit blunt and matter of fact and you know, that respectful side of things is not necessarily within their comfort zone. But recently there has been a lot of volume of work at the moment, a lot crimes to carry, taking out lots of volume of work as a sexual offences trained officer as well recently, which I think ultimately, it has a, starts to have a long term impact on how I approached this death in particular. On the day I would say that I was probably up to my eye balls a bit anyway, having dealt with three rapes in the last four shifts and having to cancel various commitments I had with my own investigations and it was an extremely busy set of shifts with limited supervision, and before I went to work, there was a handover, like a late Saturday shift, and genuinely the thing I was looking forward to was finding some hot food for refs that day. I had dealt with another allegation of rape, which turned out not to be any offences at all, and then this death came in before I had written the other job up, so I volunteered for it, partly because I don't believe people should have to wait, I always feel that sudden deaths should be allocated quickly and a lot of people like to avoid them, but then on the other hand it did suit me time wise, it being a fairly straight forward report on the face of it, and it tied me along until about tea time and then I could have some food and write both of the jobs up sort of comfortably before finishing. What I found when I actually got there, was a bit of an unusual ability to sort of relate to the wife, in any	40, 41, 41, 40, 35, 53, 41 12, 32. 8, 23, 5, 26, 23	Unable to feel emotion that normally would feel, and feel is quite natural. Recognizing lack of feelings and concerned by this. Concern that this is a long term thing and a defense mechanism of the mind.

sort of meaningful way, normally with sudden deaths you take, well for me anyway, take me back to times when I have lost people close to me and there is always I find the empathy never really forced because everyone can empathise with losing someone because everyone has lost someone, but on this occasion I really did particularly struggle and I felt that I was saying things, I was asking things about, you know their life together, and history and tried to pick up bits through, naturally come to it, through the coroner's report and it all came across that way to the family I don't know, but for me it felt hollow and forced. Which I didn't like, and then when I was searching the body, it is not something that ever really bothers me searching bodies in fairness, but in the back of the house I wasn't talking to anyone, I was left alone to search the body, all though I was noting everything that was on the body, all that was going through the back of my head was whether I was going to stop for a kebab or Chinese on the way back to the station and I found that quite bizarre and then later on again I felt that it was a bit strange that a short time before the going top to toe, searching a dead body and dealing with a grieving wife, but it didn't have any impact on me at all that evening and it was the lack of impact it had on me that actually made me feel worse later on, because normally I find that going to sudden deaths, especially when I have been exposed to sudden deaths on a regular basis, you know, several in a short space of time, it tends to have a bit of a drip drip sort of effect on your manner, you feel slightly down going to a death, and I have always excepted that as being normal and almost societally as normal, it is almost an expected reaction to be slightly down after dealing with a death, because it is a sombre affair in our culture, in our society, erm.. albeit I don't think you are able to express that to many colleagues, but on this occasion I didn't actually feel particularly sombre or down, it was just another, another incident and the family where just like another AP or another informant and there was no real connection there, which made me as I say, feel worse later on at home thinking about it afterwards, and then actually started to consider then whether that's a response to a particularly	21 24, 8, 21,	Struggling to change emotions and empathise despite expecting to. Frustration with expectations of members of public. Judged due to privileged back ground and placing pressure on officer.

busy stressful period at work that will change, or whether that is a longer term impact over several years that's leading me to find it more difficult to empathise with people it should be easy to empathise with, some kind of emotional defensive mechanism almost of not wanting to really empathise with them, because you don't want to don't want to actually deal with the feelings of the kind of downer, for want of a better phrase, that comes with that. So I suppose that I have got to the point now, a few days later where I actually think it would be interesting to see how, how I deal with and how I feel with the next sudden death that I go to, and the next family that I deal with in that situation, whenever that is. I want to discuss some robberies that I have been investigating recently, and something that is still ongoing at the moment, but I find them quite interesting because, they have caused me quite a lot of grief, so the victims are four young lads, I say young they are all sixteen, seventeen years of age, and they are all from, you know, reasonable, sort of reasonable backgrounds, they have all lived fairly sheltered lives, relative to what we are used to dealing with in the police, and their families, and they are decent families, but they have little or no previous interaction with police, and they have a certain degree of entitlement about them in their attitude. So there are, in essence, there are four named suspects who are all over the place, either sofa surfing or now on remand for other offences, some care around the country. So something of a logistical nightmare to try and catch up with some of these suspects and get them all interviewed and get a file together, things are okay with it at the moment but there was a period of probably three or four weeks in the immediate aftermath, where I inherited these crimes from somewhere, a student that I was tutoring took a statement for one of them, I went on leave and I came back off leave and found that I had been allocated all of the crimes. So it took some time to get my head around everything and start getting a plan together, whilst investigating other crimes and servicing the response queue. And the four lads, the four victims I have no issue with at all,	53, 32, 53 36 21, 53, 25, 11,	Acceptable emotional expression - identified need to express emotion - cathartic.

they are genuine victims, they haven't done anything wrong, they haven't provoked anything on in any way like that, and they are all really nice lads, they don't deserve what has happened to them, and they deserve some form of result through the criminal justice system, but I have found it very difficult to empathise with them because of, the behaviour and the attitudes of their parents, whom I have been mainly dealing with, which isn't really fair on the lads themselves, but the parents are just unrealistic, in what they expect in terms of timelines and resources, et c. and are frankly unreasonable, I spent several hours on the phone in the course of a couple of weeks with these parents, who intellectually understood the system that we work with and the limitations that we have, they understood that, or they said that they understood that, and they are bright people so there is no reason to believe that they don't understand that, but then in essence decided to go down the route of 'oh well, that is all well and good but it doesn't apply to us'. You know, because we are decent people, we expect a better service and they involved their MP and counsellors, and you know the MP got a meeting for them with the Chief Super and it all became a little bit of a farce, to the extent that I have spent more time trying to manage the expectations of the parents of the victims than I could spend actually investigating the crimes themselves, and I find that to be hugely frustrating and over a period of time, it had quite an impact on, certainly stress levels, because I was coming in every day to, you know, either a snotty email from one of these parents, or they would just ring the switchboard, you know ring 101 switchboard and they, you know, they would be putting actions on the crimes, you know I went away off for a weekend, and I had something like eleven actions on my crime action list, when I went off and I came back in after three days off and I had thirty two actions, and all of these additional actions related to these robberies. And I found that it just wound me up immensely it just made everything else more difficult because in the back of my head I was just constantly stewing about these jobs, I am frankly sick of writing the same updates on them	21, 34, 53, 11, 21, 21, 53, 53, 54, 41,	Depersonalization and detachment due to PA. Knock on effect. Permissible emotion - anger. Feeling stressed. Fault of job. Judgement 'more deserving member of public' No thanks - Lack of PA. Emotional Exhaustion 'drip drip' Lack of recognition leads to lack of commitment.

again and again, and ringing these people three or four times a week, and having the same conversation with all of the parents, the same conversation four times three times in a set of shifts, so twelve, twelve conversations identical. Wasting my time and preventing me from investigating those crimes, or any other crimes that I was carrying for that matter. But in fairness of it is quite interesting because, it is one of the few topics I think within the police, certainly within your, within your circle of colleagues and immediate supervision, you know it is perfectly acceptable to vent about troublesome victims and informants, which is kind of cathartic, and I think that it is necessary because everyone kind of gets crimes that they have needlessly difficult victims, who almost come to the point of making you resent doing a good job for them, and there is part of my that thinks it is conflicted because the actual victims, they deserve a thorough job, or the kind of arrogance and reasonableness of the parents, you know make me sort of resent putting the effort in for them, and ultimately that just feeds into, it feeds into other jobs after and I was stressed at them, and you don't find you end up dealing with other victims in any less professional manner, not less professional but, I imagine I come across to them as being a little bit detached or disinterested, and it is not really because I am it is because you kind of up to capacity with sort of issues, with victims and in the back of my head I am saying 'oh this is just something else that I need to cram in to a hectic sort of schedule' sometimes you know, you are getting things in that are going to have to take priority, say domestic crimes and some safe guarding issues or some other things that are more time critical, I find myself resentful of having to take them on the grounds that I know it is going to push my robberies further back down the queue which is just going to cause me more grief when speaking to the parents and it can be a little bit of a viscous circle. I have certainly got to a few points recently where, you know I have really sort of really vented quite a bit of frustration anger in the office and these jobs ultimately, not necessarily are the root cause of it, I think the root cause of it is organisational problems and just the way that we	35, 4, 3,	There is a judgement here as to how the inspector is showing emotion. There is reference to 'high pitched' is this misogyny? 'Losing control' seems to place a judgement that they can't cope. What place does she belong in? Deriding attitude to colleague. No sympathy for position - quite the opposite. 'her nature' a judgement of showing emotion.

are working at the moment, it is set up and designed in a way that causes these issues, but it is a big sort of trigger for a lot of my recent stress and things like that within the job, to a point where I can't wait to be rid of these crimes one way or the other which will be soon hopefully, and maybe then I get back to focussing on other sort of possibly more deserving members of the public, the types of people that might sort of appreciate the effort that is being put in, I think that is, I think that appreciation is something that you don't often get and I think that does have a bit of emotional impact do something for years on end, you really sort of flog yourself to death with stuff and it is so rare that you get some recognition, be that members of the public or people, sort of supervision, senior leadership, it is all taken for granted and I think it is a bit of a drip drip effect you know, what is the point of going to this degree of effort when, you know that it is not appreciated by the people that it benefits not appreciated by division whose reputation you are trying to sort of up for them, and if you do good jobs sort of bosses they're who benefit from that ultimately, they put it down to good leadership and they put it down for promotion boards et c. so they get a positive result out of it, but they either choose not to recognise or don't recognise you know the efforts that other people are putting in that they are benefiting from and I think it creates a bit of disconnect and a general apathy towards the job I guess. I am going to talk about an incident, a recent incident, which happened at my work, where I was in the core desk and the Sgts desk and I was monitoring the incident queue which was part of my duty for the shift and deploying officers accordingly and I was phoned by the inspector on another subdivision and she wanted assistance in supplying some of our officers in helping them in some incidents and prisoners and there was a serious sexual assault, she stated that she did not have sufficient officers on and that she wanted me to assign initially two, and then a third officer, to help out their division with the incident queue. So, well I basically said 'yes we will try to assist you'. However, her manner	4, 11, 4, 11, 4, 16, 30, 45, 4,	Avoid emotional reaction - suppression of emotional to facilitate carrying out of role. No empathy for colleagues. 'not professional' Agrees with feeling rules.

throughout the whole telephone interaction was extremely, I would term it, discourteous and very arrogant and over bearing in the way that she spoke to me, she was basically snapping, her voice sounded quite high pitched and quite, I would say, over wrought, it sounded like she was teetering on the almost the brink of losing control, and panicking, but as a result she was basically shouting, it sounded like she was shouting at me instructions, it wasn't like a 'would you be able to assist us - I do need to ask you to supply us some officers' in a reasonable manner it was more 'I want you to find out what ever officer on your division is doing and I want you to send me two officers over right now and I want you to do it immediately' and I said 'well, I will have to find out what everyone is doing and I will have to speak to the comm the communications office and see what we can, who is doing what' and she said 'no, no, I don't want you to speak to them, you are to do it, I want you to do it, I want you to go and find out and I want you to do it right now'. And this was the manner that she was speaking, it was quite unpleasant to have to deal with and I responded by initially being a bit taken aback by this level of rudeness and then responded by, basically I responded, I reacted back to her by almost trying to put her in her place, although she is technically a superior rank, I basically responded by saying 'okay well in that case I am going to go through each officer individually and find out what each officer is doing and that will take me some time but if I am going to do it myself, since you require me to do it' and I think she realised at that point that I was almost trying to make fun of her, or respond in an almost satirical way to her and, she was obviously under some pressure to get her incidents dealt with, so she responded by becoming quite snappy and sharp and then basically she hung up on me. So I was left on the end of a line that had just gone dead. How did I react? How did I feel about this? I would say that I was quite aghast that somebody of her nature is allowed to rise to such a position and I was quite angry about it and I, did feel at that time disquiet and frustration, but in answer to the question about displaying true emotions of course I couldn't, so I had to suppress this	37 39, 45, 5, 3, 2, 4,	Peer surveillance. Feeling defensive and assuming comments are directed to officer.

annoyance and anger at this time being because I had to hold responsibility for the officers on my division that I was responsible for, I still had to deploy officers to my own incident queue and I had to still comply with her request, so I had to maintain a composed approach to everything, I was, I should say that I was the only supervisor on because the other one called in sick, so I had to maintain composure and just deal calmly and get everyone deployed to where they were supposed to be. I did it pretty straight forwardly, so I avoided having an immediate kind of emotion, displaying an emotional reaction, I suppressed it. Did I empathise with her, I expect her to be able to do her job if she is paid as an inspector I expect her to do the job and not lose control and maintain a composed front under all circumstances, if she is not capable of doing that she should not be there, that's straight forward to me. So I did display a composed front to the other officers in the office, around me who were doing an administration or paperwork and also I had to call on the radio, deploy officers around including the officers that she has requested. Was an emotional response expected of? No, so. And after that, was I able to discuss true feelings with colleagues? Yes, because I then spoke to the other Sgt that I regularly work with on the same sub team as me, he basically concurred with my opinion of this particular Inspector. He has had similar experiences with her himself, including very similar circumstances and I have also spoken to other Sergeants who have expressed the same, they have had similar experiences with her. I have not discussed this with my line manager, I don't at this point in time necessarily intend to, because first of all I have expressed my emotions through speaking to my peers, my colleagues on the same level as me and secondly, I am at this point in time intending to put in a grievance about it because it is the second time I have dealt with this particular inspector and I think that it is the only way to get anything done, to, she needs to be addressed, she needs to be made to understand that she is not being professional when she behaves this way. So, I think that as an officer, a police officer, not just as a police officer but, a member of	4, 3, 4, 22,	Unable to approach senior management. Is this professional? It maybe retaining composure and not displaying emotions, but the actions are not professional.

police staff, anyone who works with the public there are rules of emotional display, you should remain composed, you should remain professional especially when dealing with members of the public and when dealing with colleagues, the way you deal with that, if there is an issue with a supervisor behaving in this kind of way, whether it is an attempt to bully or over bearing is that you follow the internal system, which usually involves putting in a grievance report, you can also report it to your line manager as well, and have it dealt it with that way. Being emotive confrontational is not usually something that is going to achieve much and it would end up making a situation worse. So, how are emotions dealt with in the police force, in this situation, I would say that they are getting better, they are starting to take more head, there is still a long way to go, I think that the crux of the matter is that they shouldn't be able to, this kind of situation shouldn't be allowed to occur in the first place, where people of higher rank are promoted beyond their abilities or allowed to behave in such a way without it being dealt with, it should be noted by their own peers, so it should be noted by their own line management, this should not be the way to behave, it shouldn't need to be allowed to continue on several occasions and then have to lie with subordinate officers to bring the matter up, so there is still some way to go but it is getting better. So this is in relation to an incident in the police station in Manchester where I am employed as a Sgt. The incident involved me and two acting sgts and the inspector, it immediately followed our daily briefing, the constables had exited the briefing room and we stayed behind as is customary to discuss any issues, or any extra matters with the inspector, myself and the two acting sgts and on this occasion one of the acting sgts was expressing his frustration at not having passed the promotion, the recent promotion board failing to make substantive rank and he we quite, I felt that he was put out that I had become a substantive sgt without having been an acting sgt, whereas he had been an acting sgt for a couple of years, but hadn't passed the substantive	3, 5, 12, 5, 30, 39, 43,	Bullying Screen people out psychologically? Dismissive of others feelings. De-humanising of police officers by police staff 'signed up for the job'.

board and he was clearly quite emotional agitated about this and I could tell from previous encounters that he was, he liked to make cynical or disparaging remarks towards myself and colleagues about this. On this occasion he said that there are plenty of people that are better qualified to be sgts than those that had passed the board, which was clearly making a slight dig at me and maybe towards other substantive sgts, and he said this in the presence of the Inspector who had been discussing the up coming board for this year with the two acting sgts, and I basically felt a bit slighted by this, however I decided not to take it any further and just kind of making a joking remark and say 'oh that makes me feel a bit discriminated against, or it makes me feel alienated' or something to this effect, but made it as kind of a joke. That was all that I expressed at the time, however, I was not really very happy at the conduct of this particular acting Sgt, who basically I didn't feel is suitable to be an acting sgt in any case and should have been reverted to constable having been not passed his board, however I waited and then a subsequently we had a supervisors meeting with the same inspector and the two acting sgts as well as two other acting sgts on another team that we work alongside, during this the inspector mentioned they wanted one of us to set up an operation to use up some of the overtime budget and this would involve targeting high burglary residential areas on the division, and they basically said that this would be a good development opportunity, a good learning opportunity for sgts planning, budgeting and running and going on a plain clothes operation and assigning officers to carry out certain fixed patrols, so they put it out there during the meeting and asked for volunteers. Nobody came forward to begin with and I was sitting next to the same acting sgt who had previously made this remark towards me and I decided that the time had come to basically put him back in his place, and I said 'well, this is a good opportunity for you, seeing as you still have to make that board' and he, I think was a little surprised that I had come out and said this, but he, it prompted him somewhat and he ended up taking on board the operation and carrying in out. I	45, 1, 3, 5, 37, 37,	No permission to discuss emotions - despite being asked directly. Despite obvious distress had to ask to be released and even then was only granted to work at another station. Threatened with loss of position on unit.

didn't feel that I could discuss the way that I had been made to feel by his previous disparaging remarks towards me with the inspector, and the inspector I found was a bit standoffish and I didn't find them particularly approachable with regards to bringing up issues on a one to one basis with, and have never really, I didn't feel had shown much sympathy towards me regards the encounter, as described and I decided that it would be better when the moment was right and then, basically come back at this acting sgt in another way, but obviously in a professional way without having to resort to his level, and I decided that this was a good way to allay my own frustration or, annoyance with him, whilst remaining composed and professional as a police officer, I think that within the police environment I think that there are ways to deal with, shall we say, difficult people, without having to resort to being outright abusive or unpleasant but in a more subtle and covert way, and this is the way that I did it, and I thought that it was to an extent well handled by myself, this individual now knows that I won't tolerate him making these kind of remarks in the future, he basically I think, was put back in his place, he knows that he did, create a bit of a upset feeling amongst, with myself particular, and he knows now that I am capable at coming back at him with something else so it is almost a bit of a school boy kind of situation, with a bit of tit for tat, but I thought it a kind of more adult environment, I think that as far as the police force goes, probably better psychological screening of certain individuals, such as the one I have described would prevent this situation from ever coming up in the first place, but I think it also shows that there are always ways and means of dealing with difficult people in a professional policing environment. That is all I can really feel about that, I didn't really any empathy towards him because by his actions he basically negated any empathy I may have felt towards him for not passing his sgts board, that is just the type of person that he is. There are a few things that I wanted to talk about in terms of emotional resilience and how police officers speak about emotional events. One event that I wanna talk about is following the Manchester bombing	39, 43, 3, 5, 18, 26 12,	Despite a big push on support and looking after each other - officer asked for support and was judged and threatened for it. Reuccurring thoughts - rumination?

when a colleague of mine had to read the statements of the victims and the injured, they had spent a lot of time reading these and I thought that it was worth us doing a welfare check on them, and they said that they found it difficult but that they weren't going to speak to anyone about it, and they compared themselves to police officers, saying that they couldn't do what the police officers do but, yet that was because police officers signed up for the job and they kind of knew what they were letting themselves into and so they should be able to deal with the emotion around the trauma associated with the Manchester bombing and they said that it was something that they couldn't do, but they expected the police officers to be able to do it. When I reminded the staff officer that erm police officers also were human, I didn't get much of a response. I guess that just kind of shows one of the ways that police officers are regarded. Another incident recently involved a police officer who was off duty who saw a fatal motorcycle accident, where a vehicle in the fast lane had hit the biker who had flown off his motorbike and was killed, in front of the officers eyes on a motorway, couldn't stop, couldn't assist but he did contact his local police and give a statement later. When I asked how that had effected him, he just 'well you know, it was right in front of me eyes but, there wasn't anything that I could do about it', there was just this sense of well, why would I speak to anyone about what I had seen, I have given my statement and it was just a matter of put that down to one of those things. I think it is just that, that sense that it is not okay to talk about how it has effected you that, when I tried to say 'well that must have been difficult to watch or to be aware of' there was just no engagement there, they just didn't feel like he thought he had permission to say how it had effected him, or what his thoughts were around it. I mean I am not sure whether this is what you are looking for, but these are just some of my observations. There is another incident to erm.., that recently happened to me, it was the 17th May, so it was the run up to the anniversary of the first year since the Manchester bombing, I was on duty when I was given some information relating to the investigation	18, 38, 18, 48, 12, 12, 48, 38	Consideration for the impact on others. Helplessness, relating to son who was same age, relied on 'acting' like a police officer and falling back on process.

of the offence, I was also preparing myself for the anniversary and in addition to that I was told that all officers were going to be asked to work a long shift and possibly the weekend coming up, which would normally be a rest days to prepare for a big job that was coming in. Now, unfortunately, due to the timing I didn't feel able to cope with that, I looked around me and the circus that had taken place after the bombing in Force Headquaters seemed to be happening again, there was a film crew at the front of the police station, there was officers having meetings and people on mobile phones and there seemed to be that start of the frenzied that happened after the bombing. It made me really uncomfortable and the thought that I would be doing the same work that I had done a year ago was just too difficult for me, despite trying to talk it through with some two colleagues privately I was advised that I should speak to my line manager and ask if I could be excused from working in headquarters that day and to work from another station but still contribute to the operation. I started the conversation with my line manager, explaining all of that and then I said 'this is making me feel quite unwell, I would like to work from another station' and I was told that as a police officer they didn't know whether they could allow me not to come in and work on the operation. I then had to say 'well on welfare grounds, on this occasion, I am asking you - please, can I be excused?' I was given permission eventually but told that following my leave, leave which I had booked so that I didn't have to be in Manchester around the time of the bombing, that on my return from my leave I would need to come in and discuss my future with the unit and whether it was appropriate I work there because other incidents and operations like this would come up again and in the future. To me, allow though I was given permission not to work at headquarters that day, I felt that the support wasn't there, there were emails coming out about speak to somebody if you are finding this work difficult, erm.. speak to our counselling telephone service, look around at your colleagues, are they finding it difficult, we have some practitioners on duty the day before and the day after the 22nd should	39, 43, 40, 45, 8, 9, 10, 33, 39, 45, 40,	This is significant and likely very distressing Element of shock and helplessness. A personal experience as well as that for the family - dissociated and detached from events.

you need to speak to a mental health nurse, and yet, when I did ask, although I was in a sense given the support that I just felt that there was no acknowledgement of the circumstance that had brought me there, the work that I had done, and it was almost like a veiled threat: if you are not up for this then you need to consider your options. So, I hope this is, these are the kind of examples that you are looking for. I will get back to with some more. I am going to talk about an incident that I think of sometimes which was from quite early on in my service when I worked on the Tameside division. The brief circumstances of the incident were that I was called to a possible drowning at a swimming pool on the division at the same time that came in, another incident came in either a stabbing or a shooting, I can't remember exactly what it was, most of the divisional resources went to the stabbing/shooting I recently had passed my response driving course, possibly four or five months previously I think this was maybe the end of 2007/2008. I wanted to get on board with the exiting sexy job of stabbing/shooting as I had never really seen anything like that before but I was told to go to the possible drowning at the swimming pool. So I attended, it was at the gym it was within the pool at a gym, already in attendance was a fast response paramedic, an ambulance when I went inside the pool they directed me to the pool area where there was a middle aged male, quite a large build who was being, well they were making attempts to resuscitate him. There were three paramedics there, and they arrived before me and they were working very hard to try and resuscitate him, at the time there was also a swimming lesson for young children that was going on, on the other side of the pool, they were still carrying on that lesson for some reason, so I kind of went into what I felt was a professional mode and spoke to the manager and kind of demanded categorically that the kids be removed from the pool. I was aware, even at that stage of my career, that to see paramedics working on someone there is physically very little that I can do, so I questioned some of the staff members very *inaudible*I spoke to them and ask them what had happened. They	7, 20, 13, 5, 1, 8,	Stopped trying to empathise as couldn't and just tried to be honest.

gave me an account that the male had very simply mid flow stopped swimming and floated and was pulled out by life guards and there was no other police officer at the scene because they were all tied up with the other job, so there wasn't anyone there for me to talk to, I was, I felt very much completely, pardon the pun, out of my depth, I had never really seen anybody in a bad medical position before, I was only 21 22 years old, but it was clear by looking at him in a very, very bad way. For some reason the gym had decided that they would call his next of kin which was his son, his son just happened to be a similar age to me and had just joined the fire brigade and had arrived five minutes after I did, I felt quite helpless really, I think that is the best emotion to describe, I didn't really know what to say or what to do, but I felt that I had to be professional and act like a police officer and exert some control. Scene management, who were witnesses, various things like that, the paramedic then said we need to get him to hospital and the fast response paramedic had to travel in the ambulance so that they could both work on him on the way to Tameside, the son wanted to come as well, so I said that I would take him up. So we got in my panda and I followed behind the ambulance up to the Tameside hospital and followed him into resuss there were already some quite poorly people in resus and they were clearly very short staffed. I had never been into that resus environment before where people were you know, critically ill. I stood back and watched while the doctors started to work on him CPR, and they were, if I remember it correctly injecting him with various drugs, defiblirator was used, et c. The son, I can't remember his name or anything, I just know that he was a very similar age to me, he was stood beside me, opposite the bed where he was being treated, in complete and utter mental break down, begging the doctors to save his life. The doctors were very professional they were very clinical, and they spent a good half an hour, forty five minutes trying to revive him, but obviously it was, it became difficult and they couldn't go any further and they pronounced him dead. This was done in full view of me and his son, his son immediately went over to the now dead body of his	53, 54, 40, 54, 53, 51, 23, 9, 8, 23, 8, 8,	Suppressing fear of helplessness and having an extreme emotional reaction to the situation. Element of personal shock and trauma. Colleagues de-sensitised, de-sensitised language and more interested in 'bigger job' depersonalized from death - so not important, so suppressed emotions as they too were not deemed important. Never spoke about emotions or even considered that he should or could - too busy trying to be the 'good cop' reliable in a fight, not emotional. Went on to next job. No time for, or consideration of emotional processing.

father, hugged him and started to become incredibly distressed and asked the doctors 'please don't stop, please don't stop', the person that was in the cubicle next to him started to become very poorly so a lot of the medical staff moved across to him, I was asked if I could remove the son for the time being, I went up to speak to him 'let's get you out of here' et c. and he was quite amicable to that but in the meantime his family had arrived in the hospital and they were in the waiting room, the doctor was busy with someone else, I point to pointed my Sgt at the time and said 'what do I do I this situation?' you know 'I need some advice, what do I tell them?' and he said don't tell them anything, CID on the way up. A short time later a DI and a DS turned up, took a very brief first account of me, they had already been to the swimming baths and reviewed some of the CCTV and said that it was going to be, in their words, pretty straight forward, and I said who needs to tell the family - and they said 'oh don't worry about that, the doctors will, we can't do that, we have got to go to this other job' and they shot off in about five minutes. The doctors were busy in resus and I felt and I didn't feel confident to interrupt them to ask them what to do, it wasn't really a position that I had ever particularly thought about, plus there was the son that knew that he had died was telling his family and they came out and it was almost like they didn't believe him, and they came out into the corridor just as the CID were walking out and saw that I had been behind the ambulance and they asked me and I told them that he had died. I felt quite detached from the situation, I certainly felt like I wasn't able to display my true emotions as were, I would probably describe as shock, really more than anything. I had previously to this, I had just been to a burglary and this was the first, you know first *inaudible* thing resuscitation then died. I think I wasn't able to display my true emotions because it was so new, I had never experienced anything like it in my life. Training certainly hadn't prepared us for it, I think we had maybe a very small input for maybe a couple of hours about passing death messages, but it was very much told to us that it would usually be done by an FLO or other appropriate trained people and we	33, 13, 53, 54, 9, 10, 8, 12,	Does the current strategy not work. Improved training, flagging up that you do see things AND they do affect you, and ways to cope. Get rid of the stigma that cops are as hard as nails.

wouldn't really be doing it. I can't say I felt anything particular about not displaying my true emotions, I felt that this was just something that I had to do, one of the things that I remember from training was just be honest with them, you know don't beat around the bush so to speak, just give them the information as to what you understand it to be at the time, and that is what I did. But I did, I spoke to the family in the room and I explained to them the best that I could the situation and how it happened and what happened, I tried to avoid emotional reactions, they were, not that it matters, they were a very nice respectable family and they were absolutely distraught and I could see that their whole world had just fallen apart, and the way that they were talking their father was the patriarch leader of the family to them and they all looked up to him as being head, and I couldn't imagine their loss, and I stopped thinking about my own family and what would happen to me, and I genuinely couldn't really engage, you know empathise with them, you know I said that I was very sorry in a, you know, very typical GMP speak but that was pretty much all that I did and I couldn't empathise with them because I have never been through anything like their kind of situation, with that they had been in, and I knew that and I knew that if I was to say 'oh I know how you are feeling' or anything stupid like that, that that would purely just enrage them, because how could I have possibly any idea how they would be feeling. It also became clear that my presence there kinda wasn't helping, I had given them the information, they asked medical questions that I simply couldn't answer so I thought that the best thing for me to do was just to leave them in the family room and go and get the first doctor that I could find, and after a few minutes I did find a doctor and they were very good and they told me to leave it with them. They went into the family room and they spoke with them and explained it to them and I never saw anybody from that family again. I deliberately chose to display an emotion that was different from the one that I was feeling inside, the one that I was feeling inside was both a mixture of fear of am I doing things right? Fear of am I going to be criticised? I also knew	12, 17, 5, 3, 2, 48, 16, 18, 3, 6, 9, 18, 5, 53, 48, 17, 47, 51, 37,	Obvious significant trauma. Vulnerability Significant Trauma

then that I just couldn't empathise with them, you know, what they were going through, the emotion that I chose to display was just being professional, the emotion that I hide was fear of how I would react if it was my family, and I think, looking back on it now, and it was quite a long time ago, I think that I was in shock to some degree myself and I didn't know how to deal with that. In terms of an emotional response with my colleagues or members of the public - there weren't any there, any police officers there, apart from the DI and the DS, who left very quickly, there were no other members of the public. When I got back to the police station, everybody was all talk of the, I think it was a stabbing actually, everybody was all talking about the stabbing and it was the usual job talk about what everyone did and how gory this was and how gory that was, and nothing really was said about my job, apart from the Sgt he kinda stuck his head around the door and said, 'what happened to your boy?' I didn't really know what he meant so I said 'sorry' and he said 'that lad at the pool' and I said 'oh he died' and then he asked me if I was carrying it, and I didn't really understand what he meant, and I said 'I spoke to the DI and he said that he was sorting it' and he went away and came back and said 'yeah, leave it with them'. I was very shocked by it. I certainly didn't discuss it with anyone else, everyone else ws busy talking about their own job that they had just been to, they were all quite strong characters and had been in the job a while and I didn't really think that I had the courage to give my two cents about what had happened about what I had just seen, and I also thought that what I had seen is not as dramatic and was almost in some ways less important than theirs. I felt bad when I got home in some ways that it was a bit of a shock, but at the same time, from what I remember I just carried on, I kinda just excepted it as part of the day, At the time, I was living with another two cops, we were sharing a house and as new cops do, we discussed the jobs during the day, but it was more of, you know, policy type - I've seen this, I've seen that - no mention of any emotional involvement. At the time I thought that was part of the job and it didn't really occur to me that I would be unable to	18, 5, 7, 1,	Lack of PA but empathy to child but not necessarily having the skill to deal with the situation. Trauam Sense of personal shock, recognition with colleagues the extent of the scene, but still unable to display emotions - avoiding reaction with child - helplessness in relation as to what to say. Debrief - standard, implying that emotions were not discussed, procedural. Help offered but no one able to accept.

speak about these experiences to other people, I certainly didn't have any coping strategies with anything at that point and I had no notions about any rules around any emotions on display as a police officer of how I should react, who I should talk to, it was just an incident that lasted maybe an hour and an half, from start to finish with my involvement over a ten hour twelve hour duty, and it, after I had finished writing up my notes and did a brief duty statement I then attended to a shop lifter and ended up locking up a shop lifter, and it just carried on as that, and it was very much as if nothing had happened, nothing was really said much more after that, that was it and I have never really talked to anyone about that, it was very much that life carried on, as normal, and I can honestly say at the time that it didn't give me a great deal of bother because I had, in my head, somewhere that this was part of the job, but at the same time I knew that I certainly couldn't display any signs of being emotionally disturbed by it in any sort of way, I was convinced at the time that that would show a sign of weakness, at a point where I was very much trying to prove myself as a competent and useful police officer that would be you know, handy at a scrap, useful at a job, knowledgeable and I felt that if I started to spout out about various emotional kind of side of stuff then I wouldn't be seen as that. In terms of that incident and probably the ones that I want to talk about in the future, what can the police service have done to help police officers cope psychologically with the work? Certainly not ramming things down peoples throats, like they have done in recent times, I think a lot of it came down to a lack of training, of how to, you are gonna see things that you have never seen before in your entire life, and I was twenty years old and a cocky kid who thought that he was street wise and all and I was completely naive and I had no idea how people lived and what things happened, and I think that some improvement in training that you are going to see things that are going to disturb you in certain ways and maybe teaching some sort of coping skills, how to deal with it, and ultimately trying to	1, 8, 8, 1, 8, 1, 10, 8, 1, 8, 1	Acknowledgement of severity of job but no emotional acknowledgement. Humour used. Token offer of 'welfare' by supervisor at inappropriate time. Protected girlfriend. Relief of speaking out to military colleague - felt able to speak out as had previously stated suffered from PTSD post Iraq conflict. Felt let down by organization.

get rid of that stigma that we are all hard as nails and we shouldn't talk about it. The incident that I am going to discuss now is one that happened about two or three years now and it involves the murder of a female in Newton Heath. The brief circumstances: we were on a night shift, I was doubled crewed with a good friend of mine when a job came in of a distressed child walking up and down the road in his boxer shorts, it was a night shift it was probably maybe one two in the morning. So we made our way up there, on route the caller said that he had approached the child and said 'are you okay' and the child has then said that 'he thought that his dad had killed his mum and that she was in the house lying on the floor'. This obviously got relayed to us and upgraded to a one. We arrived at the address and sure enough the kid was there with the informant, the kid was pretty much just in his boxer shorts, he simply just pointed at the house, the door was open, the front door of the house was open, there were another couple of vans that arrived pretty much at the same time so we all went in, it was a new build house and straight on our left was a living room the living room was filled with a huge grand piano, which was strange and the first thing that drew my attention, and they lay on the floor was a very, very petite female with very, very severe injuries to her head, she was, what I would describe as unrecognisable, lots of blood, face very very, severely deformed, we had with us a mobile defib, so we cut off some of her clothing and put the defib on which said that there was no output, so we continued compressions and used the defib to shock her, I tried to clear her airway, but probably the best way to describe her head was like a bag of marbles, it was impossible to do anything with, ambulance arrived very quickly and they came in and they took over straight away they were very concerned about her injuries straight away and they started drilling into her shins to insert various fluids, they themselves couldn't get, whatever the equipment is called, but whatever they use to put down someone's throat, they couldn't get	8, 1, 9, 10, 13, 8, 5, 3, 7, 13, 15, 13, 9, 10, 53, 35 17, 5, 12, 16, 18, 8,	'Bomb' changed conversations on shift, but still have to maintain the mask. No coping strategies. Early retirement due to mental health.

anywhere near down her throat, they couldn't get it anyway near, anywhere down her throat due to her injuries, obviously there is a hive of activity going on and out of the corner of my I realise that the child was stood there watching all of this, other officers had gone upstairs and detained the offender who had simply got into bed, covered in blood, but he was screaming kill me, kill me, probably realising what he had done, the child showed no emotion what so ever, but watching his mother dying mother being worked on wasn't appropriate, so I kind of ran over and picked him up and took him outside and there was another ambulance crew there, so they took him and gave him a bit of a check up and I went back inside the house. A very short time after that they, they were eager to get her to hospital so I jumped in the back of the ambulance with her and we went down to MRI, she went into cardiac arrest in the ambulance and when we arrived in resus it didn't take very long before they pronounced her dead. There wasn't really any members of the public at the incident other than the informant and I didn't really say a great deal to him, the other member of, I don't know if you would call him a member of the public, the person there was the child and apart from when he pointed to me at the house, I didn't really say a great deal, I didn't want him to see the horrific scene in front of him, longer than he already had and I picked him up and I said whatever ridiculous reassuring type of words that you say in a situation like that like 'your mum is going to be okay' that kind of stuff. I was in the ambulance on my own, with the paramedics there weren't any of my colleagues there, and due to the very fast nature at the time, there wasn't the chance to speak to any of my colleagues about it. I, during the incident, I mean it was very unpleasant but I kind of switched into work mode, professional mode, and didn't display at all, really how, you know horrified I was at what I had seen. The main thing that I, ,well that bothered me was how long, I wondered how long this ladies son was stood in the door way watching us trying to resuscitate his mum, so I certainly wasn't able to display my true emotions, because it wouldn't have been professional or conducive to being, being a cop	22, 3, 5, 18, 12, 5, 27, 12,	Daily business! Never acknowledged - wish someone had warned him and acknowledged how he would feel.

really I guess, I didn't really think about that at the time, consciously. At the incident the emotions that I displayed is - this is bad, pretty much, I had said to my colleague this is really bad, but I didn't really kind of display any outward emotions. I did try and kind of avoid any emotional reaction with the child and I carried him out, again, clearly in shock so I didn't have any idea or notion of what I should say to him, after the after everything started to calm down, we went to a debrief at Central Park Police station and it was just quite a standard debrief really, the Super went through the circumstances of what each officer had seen and heard et c. at the end of it the Sgt said 'anyone got any welfare concerns?' and everyone said 'no, no, no of course not' and that was that. I didn't try, I was very bothered by seeing the kid and taking the kid out as you know, I can't imagine what that would be like and that is going to stay with him for quite a long period of time, but I didn't really say that to anyone on the night or after the debrief. When I got back to the police station, again I didn't really, wasn't thinking much more other than that was a really shit job before the debrief, when we were all talking, people were all kind of saying 'christ her injuries were bad', not in a particular l sensitive way, and it was just almost kind of like dark humour and, that is kind of as far as it went. I didn't discuss true feelings with my line manager as he briefly just said 'anybody want welfare' well at that point it was about half past seven in the morning and at that point people just wanted to go home. Was I able to discuss my true feelings with anybody else, at that time of going home, no not really, I didn't really know who to speak to, I certainly didn't want to tell my girlfriend that, because it was just a horrible job, so I wasn't able to discuss kind of my feelings or my emotions around it, with anyone outside the police, although the lad who I was working with, who has since left the police on the night, I was very, very good friends with him, he previously served in the military in Iraq and he would be quite candid about how that affect him, he didn't go into detail of actual kind of things that happened, but he said you know, PTSD from that, so I felt that if there was anyone that I	18, 15, 43, 39, 41,	Anxious about having to deal with violent offender with history of offending against women.

could speak to about my feelings it was going to be him, because he had shared quite a lot with me. So we came back in the next night, we were out, went to a few jobs, and I just said to him, that really bothered me that job last night and he stopped the van and we had a really long talk about it and he said a similar thing that it really bothered him when I talked about feeling low, about the child and just the feeling a bit again let down by the organisation, I was still very much of the thought that you are a cop and you deal with this kind of thing, day in and day out, and you should just crack on for want of a better phrase, but it was a massive relief straight away to be able to talk to this other officer, and it made us quite close and we would discuss lots of things from then on, not just about jobs but you know, jobs that we had been to together as such but the previous jobs that had bothered us and it was just kind of a relief and I guess it is that old saying that a problem shared is a problem halved, really kind of was true really. Is there any environment in my life where I can feel or display or acknowledge my true emotions? Yeah, there is now, after the bomb, that has certainly made me more able to discuss, not just the bomb but other previous incidents with other cops and there certainly has been a culture change around the PCs as how we speak to each other about that. Coping strategies again, no, not really, nothing particularly changed other than just cracking on with the job, I very much thought, and still do, when you are at a job, and even no matter how traumatic it is, you need to maintain that professionalism and put on that mask, which is a bit difficult to take off sometimes. It is Saturday evening and I have started my shift and realised that after twenty three years in the job this will be the last ever Saturday evening shift as a police officer, due to imminent retirement. I am feeling a bit apprehensive as I am going through the intelligence on the briefing there is everything else, there is some information on there that there is potential of disorder due to parties involving certain families in one of the hotels nearby, so I need to keep an eye on that. I have already,		Worry for others, taking responsibility for others despite doing everthing in her power - loss of control? Sgts - depersonalized. Officer fear and anxiety - in full knowledge of risk and not being taken

not myself, but on the radio, there has been somebody attacking their partner with a knife and there was a full firearms authority granted for that and I am only an hour into my shift, so I will see if I can get through tonight unscathed. I have got a good team, all happy and all laughing and joking there, and let's see what happens tonight. I am now coming towards the end of my shift, it is two o'clock in the morning, I've had pretty much an admin day going through files admin et c. my staff have been out and about dealing with various things, what they have dealt with this evening has been an RTC, none injury but there wasn't any issues with that, there was also a woman who'd being, sort of the report was that she had gone psycho - turns out that she had just come home to her teenage daughters had had a wild party and there were lots of drunk and semi- well scantily dressed people in her house, so she had quite good reason to be annoyed and upset. Other issues that were going on this evening I was listening to on the radio was a couple of high risk missing persons from the local mental health unit, somebody else went missing from the hospital, A&E, there were concerns about him as he had tried to self-harm. Fortunately the officers have returned him back safe and sound. Another one that I dealt with, I sat down with one of the probationers, who has only been in the job a year, I went through a number of jobs that she has dealt with in her first year in the job, of which six months that was in training so it is only six months that she was on the street. She has dealt with at least six deaths, the very first one that she went to was hugely smelly, been dead for about a week before anybody noticed it, her first ever disorder, public order incident she had dealt with, it was the first time in my twenty three years that I had used my batton, it was quite a nasty public order incident and it has got twelve suspects, she was assaulted by a female when she was answering a welfare call. She has had about ten mispers, including one of them she actually found them barely conscious stuck up to his waist in mud, ,he was trying to make his way to the river to kill himself, he performed CPR on a druggie that had taken an overdose and their heart had started beating, which she	37,	seriously by supervisors, loss of control over situation, vulnerability. Afraid - very afraid, vulnerable and devalued by supervisors. Panic. Replacing fear with anger and becoming 'beligerant' Stress, lack of clarity - control? Angry at being stuck, fear turning to genuine angry, being placed at risk by colleagues

recovered, a mental health issue where a person self-harming in front of her, curfew 136 detentions, including somebody who was stood on the bridge, domestic disputes including one where the female came to the door as the officer arrived and had a knife in their hand, one of the other things is that when she has been off duty, she has, she was abused, she was talking her children to school, he children are only six and eight year old, taking her children to school and she got confronted by a suspect to one of the crimes that she was investigating, he was verbally abusive and aggressive towards, of course this is whilst she is off duty with her own children. She dealt with a fourteen year old boy with autism who had a seizure and having to restrain him, at the same time she was bitten and kicked and scratched by the boy. Some 135 detentions, including an elderly guy with dementia, number of neighbourhood disputes, another one that she was upset about was a prisoner released from custody, she was not involved in the investigation, he was fairly vulnerable and she got asked to transport him from custody back to his home address and during the journey he was verbally abusive and aggressive to the officers, sexual assaults on children, where she has been dealing with that. What else is there, and last week she dealt with an RTC where the victim was a pedestrian and had lost consciousness, another one where, ah this was the same one actually, she was consoling the casualty, it was initially reported as an RTC but she had actually thrown herself in front of the car and when she regained consciousness all she kept saying was 'I want to see my dad, I want to see my dad' it turns out that her dad had killed himself a couple of years earlier and that was what she was actually saying, rather than what the officer thought was she just wanted to see her fully alive and mobile dad, now that is just in the space of six months. How do I feel about it? What is my initial response, it is, I am thinking to myself, 'shit, I have dealt with every single one of those types of calls in my twenty three years, in this job and then some more as well' it is a normal days work. It is just an example of the amount of trauma that we have to deal with and those incidents are just within the six months,	44,	Un spoken rules about speaking out about emotions. Display rules - be scared but carry on and don't talk about it. Fear that if acknowledge emotions that offender would pick up on it and make the situation worse. Feeling vulnerable so criticizing plan to avoid saying scared. Sounding off to partner agency - felt disloyal. If others don't show fear I can't either.

I feel sorry for her she has got another thirty years of this to go, but she is a very good officer and as long as she looks after herself she will be fine and I hope that the input that I am giving her as a Sgt will stand her in good stead for the rest of her career, sometimes I wish that my Sgt had done some talking and input I have given to my staff and he didn't and here I am now. So the incident that affected me emotionally yesterday, didn't actually involve members of the public where I was talking to my sergeants, both of them, about a high risk offender who is due to come out of prison this morning, so obviously yesterday it was the next day, and I had spent a number of weeks working the case up, going to various ops planning meetings to discuss the high nature of his risk, to talk about safe guarding, there is a high risk to police as well because he has previously attached police officers, so he was already someone whom I knew a lot of information about and was particularly anxious myself about if I ever have to manage him as an offender manager. In fact he was someone that I was continuing to work on, but I wouldn't personal be managing, partly because his offending is against women, he is misogynist and has psychopathic tendencies, coupled with his violence they thought perhaps it is a good idea for him to have a male worker. So the background is that I was continuing to work this guy up and getting everything ready for his release, but thankfully, I wouldn't actually be the one to physically meet him and manage him. So at a bit of the eleventh hour yesterday afternoon, I was working a late shift but my sergeants were working a day shift, and about quarter to four, just as they were almost getting to leave we had information from the prison that this offender was going to be homeless and what should the resettlement team in the prison tell him to do? The main issue being that he couldn't go to the local council in the city and present himself as homeless and try and get some accommodation because he has got an exclusion zone and he is not allowed in the city. The reason for the exclusion zone is to protect the victim of his index offence, it has been	1, 1, 48, 42, 42, 7, 6, 3, 46,	Because I am female… seen as weak and pathetic, fear of being judged as incompetent. Self doubt when everyone else hides emotions. Still anxious when at home. Hiding emotions so snapping at husband and withdrawing.

issues by the court as a restraining order because he presents a very high risk to the victim who is a working girl and he presents a high risk to the other working girls because he is a pimp and a drug dealer and a very violent and dangerous man. So we had a bit of an issue. We have offered IOM assistance to him, he is unlikely to take that up, however we were getting that request from the prison to say 'can we help out with accommodation because what are we going to tell this guy where is he going to go?' Now at the point that I got all of that information I had just spent the last two and a half hours desperately track down the victim, as I said she is a sex worker, she is a drug addict, she herself is an IOM case, so I had been working with the domestic abuse team to try and track her down to see if we could try and safe guard her, she is proving difficult, even though she has got an address she wasn't there, she wouldn't answer, well she did answer some text but she isn't making herself available for safe guarding, so I was getting quite worried about that, trying to tell myself that she, you know, she knows the risks, she knows that we are trying to help and you can't help somebody that doesn't want to help themselves, but my nature is that she is at risk and I am worried for her and we need to try and do everything that we can, and we do need to keep trying. So I had just had a few hours of that, then I was switching to 'what are we going to do with the offender' and when I approached the Sergeants, this was the emotional reaction, was to do with dealing with them, and they were just there with their coats on pretty much, didn't seem interested, didn't seem to see the urgency, and even when I did try to explain to them 'what are we going to do with this guy? He is going to come out of prison, we don't know where to send him, we need to figure out how he is going to get some accommodation', their suggestion was that I just change my shift tomorrow and do a day shift instead of a late shift and pretty much put my uniform on and meet him at the prison, with someone else and escort him into the exclusion zone. All of that is a bizarre thought process I thought on their part, but my main reaction was such anxiety and fear because I had read so much about this guy,	44, 45, 42, 36, 11, 48, 42, 12, 6, 46, 44, 6, 5, 3, 18, 6, 7, 13, 42, 44, 48, 45,	Protecting partner from truth so that they don't worry. Coping with anger. Threat and Risk situation. Important and made clear. No emotion attached.

we have had so much put in place and it just seemed to make such a mockery of all of that planning and risk assessing and saying that this guy is really dangerous and saying that we need to have things in place if police are going to be tasked to deal with him, and then just say, well actually it is a bit last minute,, you just go. And I wasn't, I felt fearful, I felt I don't want to deal with this guy, I am afraid of this guy. We have no powers, he is not going to be on licence, he, everything that he has read is that he is a psychopath and a misogynist and I felt very fearful at the prospect of being tasked last minute, with no prep and no back up and no sort of real thought about it, because they literally going home with their coats on and this was their plan. But, and now that I reflect on it I wonder if I could have said those things but in fact I just, responded quite belligerently, quite angrily, I felt anger, I sort of expressed anger because I felt fearful and I realise that I do this sometimes but I remember muttering something like 'oh well it is alright for you, you are not the ones that are going to be tasked to do that and how do you think that is going to look trying to escort this guy with two police officers across the city' because their idea was to escort him to the council, but then he would be breaching his exclusion zone, it was all a bit stressful, all a bit unclear as to how we were going to move this forward, and then they pretty much left, and I was still stuck with this situation, I did feel quite angry. The fear did turn to genuine anger about you have just left this with me, I am not coming in in the morning to deal with him. It was all a bit belligerent, but all based in fear I think. So yes, initially I suppressed the fear and the anxiety because, why did I do that? I don't know, I thought about it today and wondered whether, what would, what do I think that their reaction would be if I had said everything that I have read about this guy has made me afraid to deal with him, and it is almost like it is not the done thing, as you are a police officer you can't express that you are afraid, because, what is the alternative? You have got to feel the fear and do it anyway? I don't know. That would affect the way I.. even trying to talk about it is making stilted, it is quite weird, it would affect the way	46, 49, 6, 42, 42,46, 49, 18,	Empathy towards offender. Taking the blame for others mistakes, keeping quite despite feeling aggrieved, Suppression. Accepting abuse - part of the role? Emotional reaction to being blamed. Should have accepted the abuse to keep the peace?

that I try to manage him because I would be so fearful, would he notice that fear and, would that make things worse. I don't know. It was making me feel quite stressed. So no, I wasn't able to tell them that, I didn't feel that I had got their attention anyway, so, that is how it came out. Why do I think that I wasn't able to display my true emotions? I think I have covered that and I think trying not to display your true emotions, and I suppose it is difficult because you then come away feeling quite vulnerable, like you have not been heard but you try to be heard, I was almost kind of doing the anger thing as a way of trying to get out of having to deal with the incident and then not having to deal with the fact that I was afraid. If I came up with other alternatives, or suggested that it was a bad idea, because I still think that it is a bad idea, then they would come up with a different plan, and then that wouldn't involve me having to deal with the thing that I was afraid of. So, after they left I chose to go and speak with a probation officer who was going to be voluntarily managing this case, if he wanted to engage with us, explained everything with her, and actually felt then quite disloyal because I was complaining about my sergeants and again, just expressing frustration through fear. I still wasn't telling anyone that it was because I was afraid to deal with him, because I don't know why that's, it feels like you are showing weakness and, she was a female probation officer and she had not expressed any concern about dealing with him herself, if he chose to come in, so I didn't feel that I could say that I don't really, I mean I am afraid of speaking and dealing with this guy. So again I just displayed frustration, anger, complained that the sergeants were taking ownership of things and that they had left me with it, just this real like martyr I suppose and doing it in a way to try and find solutions genuinely trying to problem solve because they had gone and I was just trying to figure out a way through it and just trying to squash my feelings down and just trying to think what we could do to resolve the issue. So, the upshot is that I did speak to my DI about it, and we have come up with a plan and it doesn't involve me going into work and putting my uniform on and dealing with this crazy man,	9, 34, 28, 12, 27, 44, 46,	Focal point of undeserved anger. Pysilogical response. There is an expectation here from probation and sister (MOP) as to how an officer should 'performe' in these circumstances. Loss of control - results in feelings of being panicked. Trying to regain control - suppressing fear and frustration and displaying calm, compassion.. Aware of performance - physical and verable. Again, feelings of loss of control, fear of physical violence, anxiety - under pressure to be in control but almost paralysed by fear (rabbit in headlights)

which is a good thing and it felt like the right thing and I will go in later and find out what happened, but I don't know whether, I have, I couldn't express my true feelings, so another colleague came in a little bit later on, after we had made the decision of what we were going to do and I was just in the process of writing it all up and letting people know for the morning and another colleague came in and I just whinged to him about the situation and I said 'I can't believe that, you know, I have been left with this and we haven't come up with another plan than let's put a load of police officers in harms way' and he then said, 'I don't mind, I'd go' and it just made me feel worse, and I thought 'oh, I am being pathetic, I'm afraid and I definitely can't tell you that I am afraid now because you will just think maybe it is because I am female, and or maybe I just need to grow a pair' it is just, yeah, even though I was able to vent my frustration and explain the situation and look for support and look for agreement and that I was right to feel this way, I then couldn't say it was because I was afraid or because I didn't think that it was a good idea or that I might be at risk myself, or that other police officers might be at risk, or the public might be at risk. I was almost starting to doubt whether I was almost over egging this because a lot of the time you deal with people who you think are going to kick off, and they don't but, I don't know, I just didn't want to go into this without a proper assessment. So, when I got back home I just felt drained, I just felt tired, I had spent the whole shift working on this case in one way or another, felt that everybody was at risk, nobody was going to be safe at the minute. When I got home I didn't really want to go through it again with my husband, although I do tell him details about things, I don't tell him names or things obviously, but I tell him about cases and I am able to do that, but yesterday because I was so tired of it I didn't, and I ended up snapping up at him when, just silly things over the washing up, I wanted to wash up because it was going to take me out of my head and I could do something physical and I just wanted to wash up, and he could see that I was tired and he was trying to suggest that I should just sit down and try and relax, I didn't want to	49, 50, 12, 39, 18, 6,	Los of control? Fear coming through as anger? Relief - regain control - don't want to think of alternative consequences. Moving from violent high risk situation to presenting calm front - literally suppressing physiological reactions as well as emotional reaction - inability to concentrate. Still experiencing after effects of adrenaline - need to talk to colleagues - expressing anger (not mentioning fear) Loss of control - needed to feel back in control by reasserting her place and role within the 'us' group of police officers - distinct from 'them' - does the officer feel that losing her temper almost makes her 'one of them'?

do that, it was just a silly argument about the washing up, and I withdrew, I needed to be somewhere quiet, I said that I was just going to read my book and, he watched the football downstairs and he didn't really know what he had done wrong, and I just kept saying 'it is just work, I am tired', I don't, I suppose that I don't want to tell him that I am afraid because I don't want him to worry, I don't want him to worry that I am at work and that I am afraid, or that they are trying to put me into situations that are risky. So, coping strategies, I don't know, they are a bit dysfunctional my coping strategies, I just rant and probably look a bit disruptive and a bit belligerent at times, but you know, I do recognise that it does come from a point of anxiety, and it has caused me to reflect actually, just doing this today, what do I think, what do I think would have happened if I had said to my Sergeants, I don't like that idea, I am scared to go and deal with him. I wonder what they would have done, I think that it would have taken them aback a little bit, but, they probably would, I think my fear is almost like, catch 22, they would have said okay you won't deal with him then, and then I would have though oh, well, how does that make me look and what do they think of me and yes I have got my way and I don't have to deal with that scary situation but, that isn't the right thing to do I am a police officer I should have to deal with it, I don't know what the answer is there, which is probably why I didn't say how I really felt for fear of that the fact that that is my job and I should just figure out a way to deal with it myself. Okay, so I a recollecting an incident that happened a few weeks ago now, where I was in an appointment with one of my offenders, with his probation officer and also his sister and her child, who is a toddler who is probably about three. Usually thing of they turn up for the pre-arranged appointment time, and myself and his probation officer generally go into the meetings together with him because he is a known violent offender, also known to carry knives and can be quite volatile in his just general behaviour, likely personality disorder, so he is a little bit	8, 43, 13, 35, 2, 5, 6, 13, 37,	Feeling angry because been made to feel vulnerable, in fear of violence and out of control.Anxiety. Pressure as officer to be in control - so not able to be honest with colleagues at feeling fearful, and feelings of loss of control - so expressed anger - is this SHAME?? Lack of PA - Shame, I have failed at my job whereas others have succeeded.

unpredictable, little bit fiery, so we would go and speak to him together. He had brought his little sister with him, I wasn't sure why, but she is supportive of him and pro us as well so we thought that it would be useful and she had got her child with her, as I say. So we go into an interview room, all five of us, and the main concern that he had got, which was something that we were already aware of, which was that his benefits had been stopped. The reason for this was unfortunate, when he first came out of prison, he was NFA and because he had got nowhere to live, he had got no address for his benefits, so I offered for him to use the police station address and said 'look, when you come and see us we will give you your letter' un be known to me there were a number of letters that went astray, and by astray I meant his former probation officer had been given them, but she had been so swamped with other work that it had sat on her desk and she hadn't given them to him and as a result he hadn't responded with the DWP and his benefits got stopped. Again, all of it unbeknown to me, but I was informed the week previously that it had happened and it was a bit of a nightmare and he had been really angry about it in a previous meeting and, you know, understandably, sort of. So, I had actually made loads of effort and spoken with DWP and actually resolved it and was about to tell him that in this meeting, when it didn't go quite as planned. His first question was about his benefits and 'have you sorted it? Have you sorted it out?' and I started to say to him 'look, yes we have sorted it' and he started to get sort of, from what I can remember he started to get all entitled and self-righteous about it and saying 'so you accept that it is bang out of order and that you have done this to me, you need to sort your stuff out, you have let a known robber go without money, I could have gone out and robbed someone, this is all your fault' or words to that affect. I felt a bit aggrieved about it, because I knew it wasn't my fault, but I knew there was no point in saying 'looking it wasn't me' because, well, there is no point, because then I would be blaming probation, and it is ridiculous. Anyway, it did get my back up a bit and instead of letting him shout or rant, he wasn't	44, 39, 13, 2, 3, 6, 7, 5, 39, 45, 44, 42, 6, 46, 45, 42, 53,	Minor incident but strong response - should I be feeling this way - loss of control again? Depersonalising offenders - another job.

shouting at that point he was ranting a bit, instead of letting him just do that, I felt that I was being blamed for something that I hadn't done, and I felt a bit annoyed and I started saying 'firstly, we have done you a favour letting you use this address' and he just went off on one, he was verbally aggressive, he wouldn't let me finish what I was saying, he was ranting about this is all our fault and we are trying to blame him, we didn't do him any favours, and all of his, all of the work that we are trying to do with him it is all on his own terms, and he is choosing to comply and basically saying we are not doing him any favours at all. I couldn't calm him down, his sister was trying to calm him down, the probation officer tried to calm him down nobody could calm him down, he was just shouting and ranting and he stood up and said, right I am leaving I am going and left he room. So in terms of how I was feeling at this point, my heart was racing a bit, I felt like I was being the point of his, the focal point of his outburst and his anger, and again, it wasn't my fault, but I couldn't get that across to him, so I was feeling a bit panicked, still frustrated and still not sure what he was going to do and where he had gone. I didn't fear any physical violence, I just felt a bit flustered I guess in front of the probation officer and his sister, I just felt like I had to perform somehow, and I had to control him and the situation and the fact that he had walked out, you know, I had to somehow make it look like I had allowed him to do that, rather than him just doing what he wanted, I felt like things were out of control and that's probably what made me feel a bit panicked, after a few minutes I said 'I am going to go and see if he is still out the front, see if I can persuade him to come back' I went out and he was still in the front office and he was sat down, there were some front enquiry staff sat behind the desk, but I don't think that there was anyone else, members of the public wise, in the front office. And I just said to him you know, really calmly, and gently, 'can we just start again' and he just carried on with his verbal abuse and we were both stood up in the front office and the more that I tried to placate him and I believed that I sort of had calming hand gestures, and it is just my nature, it is just instinctive, it	53, 54, 44, 46, 36, 42, 11, 46, 46, 45, 42	Frustration with work and colleagues. Attitude in front of members of public and offenders - seen as unprofessional. Supressing true level of feelings in public - still openly challenging colleague on attitude. Angry but had to move on quickly. Bringing emotions home.

isn't anything that I was consciously doing but I just would have been sort of, not, maybe submissive you know like 'look I am trying to help but you are not letting me get a word in' but he wasn't having it, to the point where he is shouting and going ahead and I did start to think 'I could get hit in a minute' because he is that wound up, and again I was aware that there was this pressure to control the situation, to manage him, when I just really felt like a rabbit in the headlights, and thinking where is this going? Getting a bit, well getting quite anxious about it, and like I said, symptoms of heart racing and thinking, I am feeling really on edge, and then, I don't know why 'I just turned around to him and said 'if this is the way that you are going to behave, you can just get out' and I must have changed, and my demeanour must have changed because I could see it in his face, a bit of shock or surprise almost, the fact that I had sort of talked over him, and he carried on chatting and I just said 'get out, get out' and I was just getting louder, and he did, which I was quite relieved about if I am honest, because I don't know what I would have done if he had been like 'make me' or I don't know, don't know, don't like to think and I think that was what was going through my mind. So thankfully he chose to leave, I then went back to the interview room, the probationer was chatting with his sister and the toddler was looking a bit upset by the whole thing and they were basically quite supportive and saying 'we don't know what has got into him and we don't know why he is behaving like this' you know, it wasn't that I was being blamed for anything, but I found it difficult to concentrate on what we were talking about, or what they were talking about my adrenaline was still, rushing, I couldn't really concentrate on what was happening next and I was just trying to calm myself down. I don't really remember if I spoke to the probation officer about it. She is actually a good friend, so I presume I would have said something, but not you know, how I was feeling, for sure. I don't know why, I probably would have just muttered something about him being an idiot, so we went back into the office and I remember on a few occasions on that morning, still feeling really like adrenaline was running through me and	44, 46, 6, 13, 11, 45, 6, 7, 50, 35,	Frustrated at self for challenging colleague - is this SHAME and loss of control? Everybody is under pressure, no body cares, supervisor doesn't care. Feel isolated when going to jobs. Poor coping - eating rather than going to gym. Relating to own child. Very distressing - secondary trauma, never entered scene but image stuck in head.

felt the need to sort of express it in terms of frustration, and anger towards him. I remember telling colleagues, you know, 'I just had to kick what's his name out for kicking off, you know, what a twat' and they are saying 'oh you know, he is just ranting about' and you know, just making it like a, I felt that I needed their support and their sort of 'us and them' scenario almost would help me feel back in control in the situation when I had felt out of control, and I also felt angry because he also made me feel vulnerable I don't like confrontation, I don't feel like it was deserved, it wasn't expected and I can normally talk people down and normally they listen to me and a sort of disarming effect, but it didn't work and I wasn't sure where I was going to go with it, I was afraid that the next step would be physical violence and wasn't sure that I would react properly to that and wasn't sure if I would just get slapped, so I did feel vulnerable, I was angry about that, I don't like feeling vulnerable, and it just, you know when I feel anxious or vulnerable I express anger afterwards I think. So yeah, I know it is not as easy to explain this incident because it was a few weeks ago, but yeah it stands out as being something that caused me to feel emotional and it stayed a little while afterwards, I think what I certainly didn't want to display how I was feeling to him at the time, which would have been anxiety and, I don't know if I was fearful, but uncertainty about where this was going and how much further it was going to escalate, it felt like a personal attack on me, so it felt rather than it being the police it felt like it was you this, you that, which again can be just that I am the face of the police to him, but it did feel personal which made it harder I guess in a way, then so maybe later did I suppress my emotions later? I guess os, I just, just expressed just the anger, not the anger either, just frustration and annoyance, extreme annoyance, but I had felt, I suppose that I had felt fearful, I didn't like it, I felt out of control and the pressure to control things because the police officer is in charge, or should be in charge, and if you not, then all hell breaks loose. Yeah, so I don't think that I ever told anyone that I felt like that, since then, I am aware that his probation officer gets on really well with him, he	45,	Creating images in head - building a picture and life for the victim - relating it and informing it through own experience and family. Too long stood doing nothing and just thinking about what had happened inside the house. Stood on scene - not working, don't have process to fall into, or practical things to think about or to do - too much time to think. Still very present and raw emotions - years later. Difficult to talk about. Young women have to be more matcho and less emotional than the men - have to display a detached attitude.

responds well to her, I then felt like something, you know, I have not done my job properly if he doesn't respond that way to me, and this need to be liked for some reason, or you know 'what did I do wrong?' I was only trying to help. So it has limited me having contact with him, I am aware that I, not avoid the appointments, but if I have got other things planned I don't rearrange them so that I can attend these appointments, I will be on the back foot a little bit with him now, and yeah.. just a bit more wary.		Reaction to non emotional colleagues - disgust and not forgotten
I want to talk about an incident that happened today, this afternoon, because it is fresh in my mind. It is actually a very minor incident that has actually left me feeling quite angry and annoyed, and a bit wound up and frustrated, but it is a typical, it is a typical kind of situation that occurs. So basically there was an anti-social behaviour job called in at the local park, youths riding motorbikes to the annoyance and danger of the public. So these calls about these kids in this park on these bikes had been coming in all afternoon, so a few officers sort of made the area in an attempt to try and do something about it. I was one of the officers I was in a car with two other officers at this time, and there were other people dotted around the park in various locations, as it happened these bikes headed in our direction so we got out of the car, and I think it shocked these kids on these bikes, which caused them to I think fall off the bikes and abandon them and run off. Anyway, they got detained because they ran away from us into the arms of other offices basically, so they got detained and then brought back to the location where we were. We did some checks on these bikes and one of them, one of these motorbikes was stolen, so these lads needed arresting, and this is where the problems start, because it is getting late on in the shift, you have got a couple of juveniles that take ages to process and basically nobody, of all the officers at the scene, it is quite obvious that no one wanted to arrest them, or to actually deal with it. I had one of them detained, because there were three, because there were two in question that were on a stolen bike, so I just asked the question in all innocence if one of these officers who had detained	3, 5, 7, 11, 11 11, 13, 11, 23, 11, 50, 49, 49,	Everyone else is showing no emotion - and very clearly stating that they don't care! Officer finds response shocking which has the effect of silencing her and she suppresses her own emotions. Protecting family - continued suppression. Officer feels that she should be able to speak to her colleagues, as they have the same experience, but feels that it isn't acceptable -

these other two lads had actually arrested them, just so I knew where I was up to with it all, and the response I got back was 'well you saw them on the bike, you can deal with it'. I mean it is as simple as that, but for me I was only asking a question to try and find out where we were up to, and it annoyed me the response that I got, because this other officer had clearly been involved in the job, laid hands on these kids, was all involved in it, we were all there together as one team, he clearly didn't want to get his hands dirty, it was like he got hold of these lads and then basically turned mute when it came to what we were going to do next, so myself and the two lads that I was with took ownership of it all, took responsibility and dealt with it. What's, my emotional response to the job, what I am talking about though is, it just made me really annoyed and angry the response of the other police officers, and I think it is because everyone knows how long it takes to deal with prisoners these days, so already when they turn up at these jobs, they are already trying to pre-empt what is going to happen, where is this job going, because I know it is going to take hours. So, people turn up to these incidents not really wanting to deal with them, and that just causes resentment and conflict when you are all at a scene, so when this lad, sort of responded to me 'well you saw them so you can have it', this was in front of a group of young kids, you know, other members of public and I was actually annoyed with this officer for reacting the way that he did, so I challenged him on it, in front of everybody, basically said to him 'what do you mean, we are all at this job together, we are all one team, we are at one job, you have detained them I am simply trying to find out what is going on'. So, I was annoyed and angry, I expressed it in front of him, caused a bit of awkwardness between us, I did feel like I supressed my anger because I had to because there were other people there, otherwise I would have challenged this lad futher. I was actually far more angry with him than what I actually showed, but I wanted to get my feelings across to him to make it clear that I wasn't happy with his, the way that he sort of tried to brush the whole thing off and that he can't just turn up at these jobs to get involved in the fun	12, 33, 33, 33, 33,	you have to display a macho attitude, which she thinks is strange. Relating incident to own family and young son of same age - will never forget. Trauma. Hiding emotions - cried in private, not shared. Learnt through observing others that showing emotions was not acceptable and that everybody else's lack of emotional response was a result of the culture in the police. Coping- has learnt to talk over time. The job needs to take the lead and encourage people to talk and to acknowledge the pressure that they are under - talking leads to others talking.

part of it, but not get your pen out, so to speak, afterwards. So I felt a bit angry with him, a bit annoyed and I kind of let it go quite quick, because I still had other things to deal with and everybody has gone off now in their own directions. I am now home after finishing my shift, with no one, with not discussing it with anyone else, and I have actually come home quite annoyed and angry with their attitude of some of these officers turn up at these job and think it is alright to have a bit of fun and then pass it on. I just think that the way that the job is going a lot of, things are getting like that, so basically I have come now feeling quite bad, a bit annoyed a bit frustrated, and I feel a bit bad with myself in challenging this officer as well, thinking 'what does he think of me now in saying this' was I out of order, sort of questioning myself, and then, is there any point in challenging people, because the way that the job is going at the minute, so you just come home feeling a bit frustrated. That was it basically, I have not discussed it with my line manger because it is not worth it, because I think that this is the culture of the job, full stop everywhere, everyone wants to do as little as possible now so it leaves you feeling, you know annoyed really, you feel like you are on your own sometimes when you go to these incidents because you know if you get involved in something you know that you are dealing with it,, because no one is going to help you. How do you feel when you get back home ? Well I am back home now, basically I have eaten too much and I am not going to the gym, which I wanted to do. And that is it really, I mean it is a minor incident that but, that is like a day to day minor situation that happens all the time, it just leaves you a bit annoyed. I am just going talk about an incident that happened quite a long time ago when I was fairly young in service and my son was about, between three and five years at the time, and there had been a murder on a housing estate that I wasn't too familiar with of a little boy who was the same age as my son at the time. It was quite a brutal murder and it made all the papers and stuff back then, it was a single parent father who lived with his little boy, and had gone out for the night and he had	33, 43, 39, 3, 11,	Line manager responsibility. First on scene - control issues. First time seeing someone get CPR - shock, helplessness, upset, close to tears, loss of control - don't know what to do. Snap out of it take control - suppress emotions, display alternate and expected emotions. Trying to comfort people in shock whilst in shock.

left the boy in the care of one of his friends who turned out to be schizophrenic and had some sort of psychotic episode and brutally murdered this little boy whom he was supposed to be looking after, the details that were passed to me of the scene and what had happened was quite graphic, you know, people explained that this boy had been chased around the house, he had tried to stop the man getting into his room and there were bloodied hand prints everywhere, and that information alone really stuck in my mind because when someone tells me something like that I can picture a terrified child, you know, in fear of his life, being terrorised you know, I can picture it quite clearly in my mind, you know. So I was told all this information, and my job was just to stand outside the house looking into the back garden and I could see all of the boys toys, you know, like his little slide and things like that in the back garden and again, in my mind I could just picture him playing happily there, or whether I could picture my own son there, all kind of rolled into one. So I was very upset all night, I didn't cry or anything like that, I was just very sad to be there and I kept thinking about, people think that when you are on a scene, you are just there doing the practical job of managing the scene but at least for myself, I am not just practically doing it I am living through what has happened and thinking it could have been my son, you know. That bothered me, I was there all night, and then there were also all these cards and tributes and flowers and teddies and that that had been left at the front of the house by all of the community, the boys sort of school friends, there was something from the school saying how much his class loved him and missed him. In fact, talking about it now makes me quite sad still because it is something that is still very raw and stayed fresh in my mind. So that was one aspect of being very sad and having to be there and thinking about it, I remember when I got taken over by the scene, I handed over to two other female officers a similar age to myself, but I don't think that they had any children at the time, and I think I am making excuses for them here by saying that I don't think that they had any children at the time, because when I handed over to them I made	5, 15, 47, 48, 3, 49, 2, 3, 27, 27, 16, 18, 33, 33, 33,	Trying to comfort people in shock whilst in shock. Extreme natural response but somehow have to suppress this. Supervisor acknowledge obvious distress but declined help as putting other people's emotions first. Really difficult situation - belief that being emotionless helps victims deal with their distress - is this right? Where do we learn this. Good support from Sgt - didn't feel like discussing with colleagues - was the Sgts support enough?

some sort of comment like 'oh isn't it awful or isn't it really sad' and both of them were very sort of quite giddy in their attitude and both of them were 'well I am not really bothered really' both were shrugging their shoulders, I think it was a bit of bravado really on their part, because it is, to me there is a lot of that, especially girls that are young in service, more so girls actually I think the lads, I think some girls feel that they have got to put a bit of a macho attitude on. So because I had felt, felt very sad and then handed over to them and their attitude was 'not really bothered' shrugged shoulders, I just thought, you know I just thought they were awful really these girls, in fact I really disliked them and I think I still pretty much dislike them to this day, which is a long time after because of those comments that they made. So reading through some of the points on the prompt sheet that I have got in front of me, I wasn't, I wasn't able to open up to how I felt to any of my colleagues at the time of the incident because that was the response that I got from those girls, and I also remember my sgt at the time and when I mentioned it to her, she basically her response was 'well I don't like children anyway, I am an animal lover, I am not really bothered about children' which I thought was just bizarre because I am an animal lover as well, more so with a human being and I just thought that her response was just shocking. So she is my sgt and that is her response to me bringing it up to her, then what was the point? I am never going to open up to somebody or feel that I can tell them how I feel when that is there attitude, so I did suppress my emotions because, I had no one to discuss it with. I certainly didn't want to go home and discuss it with any of my friends and family because I didn't want to upset any of them, you know, there are certain things that you want to protect people from, you know, I have learnt this in this job you because party to, you get a lot of information that maybe you don't really want to have and why would you want to put that on somebody else and make them think about it as well, you know, you should be able to do it with your colleagues, because we all get the same information so that is a place that you should be able to go. In this case I couldn't, so it made	47, 39, 18, 3, 4, 39, 43, 53, 45, 39, 3,	 Protection of family - emotional suppression. Offered support, and offer followed up - though still didn't open up!! Never happened before - is this why offer not taken up and officer didn't open up. Aggression and expectations from APs

me dislike a couple of colleagues and also think that people are a bit strange, erm.. it made me realise at that point that there is no point in bringing up how you feel in these jobs because everyone has got this sort of macho attitude,. More than anything how it affect me was because I would go home and think about that could have been my son, probably because I had a boy the same age and knew where they were up to at that stage of their life, and I knew what their thought processes were, and how innocent and lovely they were and how lovely my boy was at that time, and I was thinking about his father you know, having his son taken away from him and I just thinking about this poor little boy and I do still think about that job now, I think that it will stay with me for ever. So I actually didn't display any emotions, I probably shed a tear somewhere along the line quietly, erm... yeah I think that it is just that at the time I learnt that in the police, from that point on I think that I learnt that you just don't discuss things with anybody really and don't tell them how you are feeling because no one else seems to, everyone else seems to keep it all to themselves I think, I don't really think those girls didn't care, I think now it has got to be an act that they were putting on because they felt that that was the right thing to do at the time, to fit in with the culture, I still see it now, I think the whole culture needs to change.. Any coping strategies that helped me with the experience? I personally now, because of my age and my life experience and some of the things that I have gone through, I am quite happy to talk about my emotions and I kind of do it in a way to try and encourage other people to try and talk about theirs, and I am sort of a firm believer that if everyone was more open about how they felt about things or if you show people that it is okay to express your emotions they, it leads them to do the same. I do think that that happens, I do think if you talk, I am quite open with people and I find that they are open with me as well, I think that if everybody was encouraged to talk a bit more we would all be in a better place. I think that the police service could help officers cope better psychologically just by understanding the pressures that everyone is under, I mentioned an	53, 51, 45, 8, 3, 13, 14, 8, 5, 11, 10, 3, 5, 7, 39, 43, 5, 42, 45, 51, 39, 8,	Depersonlising of victims - fear of repercussions for self, not for victim. Depersonalisation of officers by public Suppression of revulsion and irritation, display polite and pleasant. Suppression annoyance and revulsion with MOP through humour. DEpersonalisation of family.

incident early about no one wanting to take ownership of the job, it is because they know what is going to follow from that. I have said this before I think that it should start with line managers, getting a grip of everyone's work load, knowing what everyone is carrying, knowing how each individual copes with stress because everybody is different, I think that line manager, you know your immediate line manager needs better training in stress management and that kind of thing. I was on response when a report of a suicide came in at Manchester University at the halls of residence I was first on the scene at that job, quite a young male had jumped from the inside first floor balcony into the stairwell, he had landed on his head and was lay in a pool of blood and was surrounded by a number of distraught friends and other students. Being the first there was quite difficult to deal with everything that I was faced with obviously. Thankfully paramedics arrived a few seconds later and started CPR on this male, and it was at that point really I was it affected me the most, I have never seen that happen before. I have never seen someone be given CPR before, I could only describe how I reacted initially as in shock, it really was a horrible scene, I just felt helpless and really upset, close to tears as well initially, I felt like I was in a little bit of shock if I was honest and I didn't really know what to do for a minute or so when I first got there, but obviously I quickly had to snap out of that to take control of the situation and everybody that was there. So I managed to move all members of the public away and did the best to comfort these distraught friends who just clearly were in shock. The whole incident really did upset me and I thought about it for probably a while afterwards, I was really angry and upset afterwards that this person had nowhere else to turn other than suicide, and that just made me feel really helpless and just a bit useless really and that we had only just got involved when it was too late. Due to the levels of emotion displayed by everyone else at the scene, basically his friends and the other students that were there, I felt that I had to quickly put my shock and	8, 1, 7, 3, 5, 29, 30, 16, 23, 27, 5, 2, 3, 49, 53, 5,	Working hard for someone who doesn't like you and you don't like. Suppressing personal feelings to do job and actually actively not letting them influence behavior.

upset aside so that I could help other people, I felt like I had to stay calm as best as I could. My supervisor arrived and he obviously noticed my distressed and made a point of asking if I was okay. I did at the time say 'yeah, I am fine' even though I knew that I wasn't but I knew that others needed help more than I did, and there was nobody else there at that time, there was no staff it was just literally me,, the paramedics, my supervisor. It is my job to look after other people and I obviously had to put that first, and I had to totally switch off my emotions on that day as I wouldn't be able to deal with anything at all, if I had let those emotions that I was feeling inside come out, I felt like I wanted to cry. I was physically shaking with shock, but I had to try and hide that to come across as professional and supportive to everyone else. The male died, whilst obviously we were there, and I spent a lot of time with the male's girlfriend who had witnessed what had happened and obviously she was distraught, hysterical. I sat with her and supported her, I was very emotional doing this, but I didn't let this show because I needed to be strong for her to get the job done, I suppose that I showed that I was emotionless really, but on the inside of that it was the opposite of that. But if I hadn't done that, I wouldn't have been able to function at that job, I wouldn't have been able to do it, anything that I did. I felt that my sergeant at the time, I think he expected my initial reaction, as he was really supportive at the incident, constantly asking if I needed anything if I was okay, do I need a break, so I did feel very supported at the incident by my supervisor, I didn't feel like I wanted to discuss what I felt at the scene with my colleagues afterwards, I was just saying 'yeah, it was horrible' and leaving it at that. I didn't really discuss the incident at home really in any-more detail, I don't really think I should burden my family with the horrible things that I have to deal with at work, so I tend to sort of give them the short story or just not mention things at all. I did feel following that incident that I was fully supported by my supervision, I even received phone calls at home from my sergeant and my inspector to check on my welfare and that is actually the first time that that has happened in fourteen years, I felt that that	37, 21, 39,	Emotional exhausting! Depersonalising - why is this woman behaving this way - why is she vile? I don't have the right to sleep - I am not human in the eyes of the public. Displaying caring and compassionate emotions, displaying alternate and true emotions to colleague. Public see officers as robots. Relating back to own family.

was something really positive, saying that though, they asked me if I was okay, but I still didn't open up about how the incident affected me at the time, even though they asked me directly about how I was. I kind of put the incident to bed afterwards, after that day and kind of switched off to it, but saying that I do think about it from time to time, I felt okay about it afterwards, but it was my initial feelings and reaction that, I felt that was a problem and probably effected how I was dealing initially my, when I first arrived at the scene, I felt overwhelmed and totally distress but I had to put aside those feelings and get the job done, yeah, I still sort of never really told anybody how bad I felt at the actual time, I just sort of told people who asked me if I was okay, like my supervisors 'yeah I am fine, it's not a problem'. I don't feel like it is a problem now, and I didn't feel like it was a problem afterwards, but at the time it was, but obviously just chose not to mention that. I just want to tell you about an incident that happened this week. Very low scale offending actually at the incident, very low scale offences. However, the incident itself is very very high risk and the victims were high risk. So upon arrival at the incident they were a nightmare family, a lot of shouting, they had had a bit of damage caused, they were very hostile to the police when they got there because a previous incident that had been dealt with, by their own admission had been dealt with very well by the police, but the CPS had let them down and accepted a plea on the charges. So when we got there everyone was very hostile towards us and there was an expectation that you knew everything when you got there, that you knew their entire history, when the reality was that we had never met them before and all we knew was what we had been told via the radio. So, we get there and the one adult son that held a bit of information for us and a key bit of evidence, absolutely refused to put pen to paper and assist the investigation in any way. In reality, when we left the scene, we didn't think we would ever get authority to charge on the offences, but we knew that there was at least enough to get the offender in and arrest, and just there were so many high risk factors there, the offender had mental health, his	37, 48, 37, 37,	Suppressing emotions and dealing in a 'professional way'

previous offending, his drug miss use, he would breach court orders, restraining orders, licence conditions. So there were a lot of factors there that really caused us some concern, so any way we get back to the station and we try to hand it over and, well even before we get back to the station if I am honest, we are dealing with this family who are utterly, utterly vile, there is not other way to describe them, but you were just looking at them and thinking ' I have go to do something about this because if I don't my job and my pension are on the line. You are really not nice people and I wouldn't go a single mile, let alone the extra mile if I had a choice, or if it was in my personal life'. But the fact this incident is a job loser, this job is a lifestyle loser. So they are being absolutely repulsive to myself and my colleague, you know they couldn't answer us in anything other than monosyllabic answers and you know, we are still being pleasant and well the adult son refused to give a statement or refused to commit to even give a pocket note book entry I tried to laugh it off by saying 'oh well that is boys for you isn't it' when really I am looking at the victim this boy's mother thinking, 'well he is a monster that you have created' he really is. Anyway, we get back to the station and even trying to convince supervisors in the station that we had to do something it was like swimming up hill honestly, it is like nobody wants to listen and it is only because luckily we handed over to another team and the oncoming bronze is somebody who I have worked with before and luckily trusts me and trust my instinct and trusts my decision making that he agreed that it was high risk and that it should be handed out for priority arrest enquiries. So after working two or three hours overtime we go home, my shifts this week have basically brought me back in with only the eleven hours between sleep. So I come back in to find that this male has been arrested and it has been handed back to me, but the victim, by this point is already complaining, she has already gone to the PCC's office and complained. She has got nothing really to complain about because we have taken the incident seriously, we've locked him up, she just didn't like me. Well I will add it to the list of people who don't like	37, 35, 37, 12, 1, 3, 5, 11, 13, 3, 5,	

me in reality, so she has some CCTV I will go and grab a quick statement from her, she doesn't want to deal with me because she doesn't like me, yet I am still busting a gut for this woman, I am still doing more than others and my colleagues would have done for her, I am still understanding the risk that her and her family are up against and yet, I assume she didn't like my straight talking the night before that she didn't like me. So annoyingly the supervisor pandered to her and one of the other officers took the statement, so that night we went, or that evening we went and interviewed the offender and he denied it, so then what we, we decide to use his full custody clock and get his phone examined and totally bottom out all of his alibis. The easiest thing to do would have been to release him from custody RUI, but just understanding the risk we decided to use his full custody clock. And when I sy we, I was with a very young in service probationer, so we decided to use his full custody clock to go and bottom out the alibies, which where his parents, to make some very, very basic enquiries which were in relation to CCTV to bottom out his alibies that he had given us and to get his phone examined, which gave us that nugget of evidence that authorised the charge from CPS because thankfully there was a load of text messages which basically hung him for want of a better expression, so we do all of this and it is quite late at night by the time that we had finalised it, so we sent the victim, as it had been agreed, a text message, just updating her as to what is going on. And when I say later we are talking early hours of the morning, so I sent her a text message just saying, this is where we are he is going to stay in custody he is remanded for court in the morning and his prison licence has been revoked. So once he has been at court in the morning he will go back to prison, obviously. However, she has now registered a formal complaint against me, I am not concerned, I am really not concerned about the complaint because investigative wise there is nothing that she can do, you know the objective has been achieved within twenty four hours the guy has been arrested and interviewed and remanded to court, there is nothing that she can complain about and his licence	33,	Can't take in information. Despite having devastating news about loss of loved one in family - more worried about how the job is going to react. Go home but not emotionally present - still at work, worrying about work.

has been revoked. But as I said you have got this vile woman with this expectation that we are just there to serve her needs, and I think that she was horrified that I had been so rude as just to go home and sleep. So did I display emotions? Yeah, I was sweet and I was pleasant and I was very understanding and I tried to reassure her and to be comforting and all of the time I am looking at this bloody horrible woman thinking you are vile, and all the time I am going through my head I am thinking, as much as you are vile, you could lose me my job, you really could lose me my job, so did I/ Yeah, I mean the conversations that were had out of her ear shot were very different to the ones that I had face to face and I am still struggling with the, not even with the lack of gratitude that she shown, but the lack of understanding for us not being robots, but also organisationally, the lack of support that the organisation has given us on this one, you know, we have really had to fight our corner, even to get it handed on as a priority arrest and then the way that the organisation repay my experience and knowledge is to accept a written complaint from her which just seems absolute madness. recall is from a number of years ago when I was, when I had less than about a year's service in. I joined when I was about 32 and I was married and I had three daughters. The incident in particular was a night shift, I had a complaint come into the front desk, a female bring her two children basically saying that their father had touched them sexually, he had sexually abused the pair of them, and both had disclosed this to the mother. I think the children were about five or six at the time. Obviously given her allegation, this meant arresting this male on this particular night, who didn't live very far from the police station to be fair, with a view to the public protection unit taking the crime, the investigation in the morning, it affected me particularly because, only a couple of years before this incident, before I had joined the police myself and my wife at the time had been going through an extremely bad period, she had actually gone away for a weekend and whilst I was downstairs looking after the youngest, who was only a baby at the time and the eldest who were playing in their bedroom,	39, 44, 2, 5, 12,	Expectations of the job that you don't show our emotions - although conflicting emotions from supervisors as to whether you should be able to empathise. I am so used to suppressing my emotions for work that I can't experience emotions in my private life. Guilt and shame for not experience emotions with the family. Detached, dissociated from emotions. Constant suppression of emotion at work is making it more difficult to engage with emotions in private and family life. Couldn't stop thinking about job at home, but avoid talking about job with family.

unbeknown to me, one of them had fallen out of the bed, I had heard the thud and I had gone upstairs and it was later revealed that she had a green stick fracture of her arm. Obviously completely accidental, long and short she was fine, taken to hospital and potted up, however when my wife came back and we the subsequent discussions about how and what happened she suddenly twisted it around on me and basically then said well if I can't look, if she couldn't trust me, she couldn't trust me to look after the kids going away for normal, how could she trust me in any other way, and then I asked her to explain how she meant that, in short she basically came out and said that, could she even trust me not to trust the children inappropriately, sexually or abuse them in any way, needless to say I was shocked to my core. I had never, ever considered that that would even come out of her mouth, it was highly emotive for all kinds of reasons. I mean in the particular, in the incident its self, I didn't open up to anybody, whilst I could empathise with the female and the children, obviously I didn't say anything, I supressed all of my emotions, I never let on to any colleagues about this, I can't imagine I supressed my feelings in general just because obviously as someone who has never done anything, and absolutely abhors anything to do with the abuse of children or any other adult to be accused of it, obviously is one of the lowest blows that you can ever take. I literally just, I have spoken in the past to a counsellor and the only way that I could deal with the incident is to literally compartmentalise it, it went into a box, I did what I needed to do, I even acted in what I belive e was a professional way, and just went through the procedures of getting the initial account and passing it onto my supervisor and obviously going and arresting the male and dealing with him and into custody where obviously he was then left with the PPU. It wasn't until years later that I even spoke to anybody about it, and those that I have spoken to, number about two or three people. It did come out later on down the line, only because there was an incident where I had gone to work, my ex-wife had then decided to turn up at my place of work and try and have a discussion/argument with me about issues,		Protecting children from work - difficult and necessary. Can't emotionally engage with own loss as consumed by work - and dealing with work and relating it back to own children, irony of protecting others families but not being able to engage emotionally with own family due to this work. Death of young child so regular that there are no emotions experienced.

even though we had split before, and when I have gone through to my Sgt and Insp to let them know that she was outside, there have been various discussions between them two and then me and then separately them two and her and she eventually admit that the accusation that she had made regarding me and the children was completely and utterly false, something that never happened, which was a relief to hear that come from her, but obviously emotive again in the fact that suddenly my supervisors at work were aware of what she had said, though, bizarrely, I was completely innocent felt very embarrassing. Not just because they were supervisors but because they were supervisors within the police, and obviously what could have been the subsequent ramifications had she pressed on with such an accusation. Since then I have spoken to a counsellor and I have spoken to what is my current partner about it, some years ago, and yes, whilst I don't even think about it now to be fair, it is one of those that has gone completely out of the box, I have dealt with it, I am glad that it, I just needed to hear the words from her that, which just happened when my inspector and Sgt spoke that I obviously was innocent, rather than have it hanging over my head rather than wondering if it was ever going to be a ticking time bomb and she would make the allegation, even though she knew that it was completely and utterly false. But yes, it was one that was buried in the past, I think that if I had tried to talk about it at work, I think that I would have been viewed very differently, I think whilst some people might have just sort of done the nodding of the head and the pat on the back and all of the rest of it I think that people would have been very sceptical about who I was, what I was, the type of person that I was, and I do believe that I would have been treated very differently, even though there was absolutely no substance to it. I have never spoken to my family about it, my parents I think it would greatly upset them and obviously my siblings either, even to this day, even though it is false, it is so far in the past for me, I would rather with my parents being, getting on into their 60's and 70's I would rather let that sleeping dog lie. You know I have moved on with	32, 23, 1 1, 32, 1, 3, 18, 2, 5, 7, 9, 8, 41, 41, 32, 5, 3, 20,	Expectations of public - to make an effort, despite child being dead. Avoidance of obvious emotions. Fear of experiencing or exploring emotions, or empathizing with victims. Just don't think about it. Even if feeling emotions wouldn't talk about it as it is not the done thing - suppressed emotions, is this a response to the already existent culture of suppression, or maladaptive coping?

my life it is ten fifteen years ago, it has not affected my relationship with them or my family since, it has possibly effected the relationship with my three children, then that is down to my wife, not.. but I do have a little boy now who is only two, and you know, for want of a better word of phrase, he is my world now with my current partner. I don't know how the force could have helped me, maybe that is because it is an unknown because I didn't go and seek help as such, for it probably because of the embarrassment factor and the, like I said the sceptical side of things, unfortunately I know a lot of bobbies who are suspicious of anything and of course, briefing room gossip, people do talk, people can leave the room, people can be talked about as soon as they have left the room, even though they will be all happy smiley, and jovial not minutes before, so it was very difficult and I think it would have been difficult to open up about that one in particular. I have been home an hour and a half, and when I agreed to do this on Monday I had just had an update from work, I had been off for a week, I come into a big job, I knew nothing about it, trying to get my head around it, 25 emails being made at YC of a sexual exploitation job and then I received a call from my husband to say that his mam had died. Initially I didn't know how to react, because it is less than nine months since I have lost my own mam and I have had treatment for me back, so instantly it was me not being able to take the information on board, but rather, initially thinking about what the job was going to say or what the supervision were gonna say when I had to tell them me news. I did tell them, luckily it was a different Sgt, he was fine, he said like, you know, you can go home it is a family emergency. I went home, I still wasn't able to process the information because I kept thinking about the job that I had left at work, and what I should be doing and who was going to pick that up and how would my colleagues feel having been left the job, been off for a week then come back to work and bad news, which seems to follow us around. And I think that in the job that we do you are constantly, you are having to, you are being told to be	1, 28, 12, 12, 27, 27, 23, 5, 51, 54, 32, 1, 26, 33,	Even when other talk - still not going to open up. Why is it 'brave' what are the anticipated consequences? Not speaking to family/ Even if I went to a counselor I wouldn't tell anyone due to the stigma attached. SHAME Using process to avoid emotions. Public Expectation that you won't display emotions. Use training and life experience. Deliberately and consciously suppressing emotion - knowing that there are lots of difficult emotions attached to the incident so actively choosing not to engage with them.

professional to be impartial, not show your feelings, not show your emotions, then you get conflicting information from different supervisors saying it is good to show you can empathise, and it is good to show your feelings, but it doesn't seem to be any consistency, and as I say, I couldn't really take in the information for his mam, even though it had been quite sudden and she had been quite poorly for about six weeks, but still didn't expect it to happen that way. The children were upset, I was feeling guilty for not showing any emotion, but then I was thinking am I really feeling, and I didn't know what to feel, I was just numb. I found that quite a lot, where you detach yourself and when it comes to family situations it is getting more and more difficult to react, and as I say all I kept thinking about was this job and this seventeen year old that was potentially high risk of sexual exploitation, and what actions had to be done due to them being short numbers in the office. I didn't want the responsibility of the job that I had been given to be passed on to somebody else when I had already started, so it was making it more and more difficult, and I couldn't switch off, I couldn't switch off all day when I was at home and family start coming round and to see me husband and the kids and you just go into auto pilot, making cups of tea, coffee, talking to them trying to talk about anything about the job, and you can't really discuss the job anyway because your telling, you can't tell them because of the risk that they might identify something and you are not supposed to discuss things at home, in case other people pick it up. I don't want to traumatise me kids, but at the same time my fourteen year old son which asks us lots of questions when he sees things on the news all the time and in the media about jobs, and ask if that is what I am involved in, and what does it mean when kids are being exploited, I have got lots of different coping mechanisms which I tend to use is my best friends by expressing feelings of other things that's ongoing rather than what I am dealing with at work, I express more about my family life, and me kids and my frustrations, and by taking a degree on, that is in a way given us another coping mechanism to distract us away from other	21, 32, 1, 2, 3, 20, 23, 54, 26, 18,	Expectation from family to be more emotional - considered an robotic and none emotional (in all things) We are all robots. Talked about but no emotional display - sense that you don't know how others are feeling. Everyone is putting on an outward display and no one knows the truth.

feelings and emotions, but having learnt the reflective practice within the degree it is becoming clearer that it is sort of therapeutic to talk about it and reflect on the incidents, which is something that I have thought would have happened throughout my career but hasn't really happened. So that was Monday's, and now it is Friday and it has been a mixed bag like that all week - not being able to process it and I still haven't shown any emotion towards me mother in law, because I have been side tracked with this job all week for five days, doing actions and trying to share information with other agencies and forces, potentially where she might be, it just consumes you, it just does and you try not to be attached but you are consumed with the risk of what it could be, especially if you have got children, cause you are thinking about your children.	47, 18,	
Apologies if this sounds a little bit, disjointed, but I am not used to talking to myself on the phone, it feels a little bit odd, sorry for taking so long to get back to you on this but I have not been at work for a while, just on leave. I came across something in the news recently involving a young girl that died in an RTC, and it reminded me, it came in the MEN and it reminded me that I actually went to the job and provided CPR to the girl, who were subsequently died, but it is just to go through some of the feelings at the time, or lack thereof, like we previously discussed, whether it is normal or what. We discussed it previously as being desensitised towards a lot of things, stuff you have to be, stuff you experience on an almost day to day basis as a police officer, the girl was only young, she was in an RTC it was very obvious that she was dead already, but in order to try and, or at least to try and do something or make it look like it to members of the public that I was trying to do something my colleague and I provided CPR to the girl. Going through some of the check list here, stuff like 'what extent were you able to feel open about how you felt to your colleagues and members of the public?' to be honest, it wasn't the most pleasant thing but I just blocked it out. I never really thought too much about it afterwards, I didn't think too much about the family, whether it is	18, 3, 2, 20, 1, 13, 5, 23, 30, 54, 45,	Completely depersonalized and dissociated.

selfish or not, I don't really know, I just thought that it would be, I thought that's one of the better coping mechanisms, if you start going down that road, thinking about the family, then that, I presume you might channel yourself, obviously to a lot lesser extent but some of the feelings that they are going through, if you start to experience them on a lesser level. So personally I don't bother dwelling on things, I am a bit like that with everything in life, in fact I try not to dwell on it as best I can, obviously sometimes you care, sometimes that can't be helped, but with stuff with things at work I can distance myself from it, because once the job is over, I tend not to have any reminders of that job unless I bring them up, so I tend to try as best to forget about it. However, if I were feeling any feelings, emotional feelings or distress or trauma in relation to the incident, if I am honest I don't think I would talk to my colleagues about it anyway, I work in a very male orientated environment, very testosterone driven environment if you like and it is not seen as the thing to do I don't think. I mean I know that there are people that talk to each other about stuff like that, I know people that have quite recently have had therapy and counselling in relation to the Manchester Bomb, and people I know, people that I have worked with and they have done that and they have been quite open about it which I think is pretty brave really, but personally even if I had feelings like that I would keep them to myself, I would even if I am honest, not want to talk about my partner, my wife about it, I would rather just keep it to myself and just try and dealing with it. Potentially deal with a counsellor, but if I did speak to a counsellor I think I would try and do that as secretly as possible and not let people know because there is a stigma attached to that, which is wrong, but unfortunately that is the way that it is. I know that times are changing and in generations to come I think that it will be a little bit more like in America where people are very open about what they talk about. I were able to display my true emotions, because I wasn't really feeling any trauma or distress in relation to the incident, however, like I said previously, if I was feeling any distress I would have kept it to myself at the incident it is asking	54, 28, 27, 37, 37, 41, 5, 18, 41,	Wouldn't speak to colleagues for fear of being judged - would speak to a stranger. Anger is acceptable.

what emotions you did display? I didn't display any because I was too busy to be fair, you are there to do a job and the last thing that members of the public, there were members of the public watching, wanting us to do something, so the last thing they want us to do is to start displaying emotions of anger or upset, or stress or panic, it is, your training to a certain extent kicks in and your previous life experience kicks in and then you have just go to deal with it and any potential fall-out you deal with afterwards away from members of the public. I did attempt to avoid an emotional reaction, not, it wasn't very difficult for me I just chose not to dwell on it, not to have flash, not to think about it, not to think about what I saw, not to go through it again in my mind because I didn't feel that I would benefit from that at all, I didn't think it would do me any good, so I didn't feel emotional at the time I didn't feel upset at the time, I did feel a little for the family because it was obviously very sad a young girl, but again once I start to think about it a little bit I just change the subject in my mind because I don't feel it is necessary to carry on, it won't help anybody. Did you deliberately choose to display an emotion that you were feeling inside? No, I felt that I was true to myself, like I say, I think that the difficulty will come when I do have an emotion that I want to feel, then like an outward emotion of like, stress or anxiety, I think that is when a difficulty might come, because then it is how will I deal with it, but I think that I am long enough in the tooth to think, right I need to get some help, but thankfully, I have never been at that stage so far, and hopefully for my sake it will stay that way. Did you feel that an emotional response was expected of you? No I don't, I don't know, yeah, I think from my wife she expected an emotional response because I talked to her about it, but not in great detail because I don't want to upset her, but I just mentioned yeah there was a sad job with an RTC and she expects me to be more emotional, but that is not just at work, she expects me to be more emotional full stop. She calls me an android, she says that I am a robot but, and because she doesn't work with police officers, she is not a police officer, I think she thinks that I am unusual but she would	5, 18, 23, 41, 54, 18, 49, 50, 49, 43, 41,	Concerned due to personal loss and whether this would cause an emotional impairment by relating work to personal life. Proud of coping well. Expressed to family.

only have to come to my place of work and realise that, we are actually, we are the norm, outwardly at least, maybe inwardly there is other stuff going on with a lot of the police but outwardly, this is how we all behave. How did I feel when I got back to the police station? Fine to be honest, spoke about it with my colleague a little bit who was there and who took the same actions as me and he is a bit more, he is a lot more emotional than I am and he didn't, he wasn't bothered about talking about it, and he has not spoke to me about it since so whether he has got these barriers in place the same as me but he is actually hiding his true feelings I don't know, I wouldn't know that, maybe his wife would know that, maybe he is going through counselling, obviously I have got no idea but because of these things going on it is very male orientated and it could be seen as a weakness, I have never heard anyone say that outwardly, but it is wrong but I would see it as a weakness in myself if I were having these emotions, and obviously that is not right but that is just the way that I am and the way that I have been brought up. When I got back home I was fine, it is like the true feelings we are going over the true feelings in a lot of these pointers and like a say my true feelings were that I just distanced myself from it and I were fine, I don't have any anxiety towards it and even reading the news reports a year later or however long it was, because the lad was in court the driver was in court in relation to it and that is why it came back into the news and it didn't bring up any feelings of anxiety or any flash backs or anything like that thankfully and it was just 'oh yeah I went to that job' if I had have been working with my colleague still, but we are in different departments now, I think that I would have brought it up and said 'oh do you remember this job shit is in the news aint it' and maybe I would have got an indication as to how he felt, but I don't work with him anymore and it is not something that I would ring him up about, perhaps if I thought that he was suffering or at the time or had a bit of anxiety towards it but it was in the Manchester evening news perhaps I would have rung him up just because he is a friend and I have thought maybe he is having memories of it now and he might	36, 39, 33, 33,	Protecting family - fear of work compromising and threatening family.

need a should to cry on to speak or somebody to talk to about it who was there, but he has never shown any indications to it either so why bother bringing it up, it is asking if I am able to discuss or acknowledge my emotions, is there anyone outside the police service, I think I am, I think that I would rather do that if I am honest, discuss it with a stranger than, than somebody at work and then there would be no stigma attached, and I wouldn't be labelled, potentially labelled afterwards, I have had no indication for that form my colleagues that they label other people that have been through this, but I just wouldn't want that label, so maybe that is a weakness in its self, maybe that's the braver thing is to come forward, but that is not how it feels to me at the moment. Any coping strategies? Yeah, like I have said previously I just don't think about it too much. How are your emotions dealt with in the police service? In relation to this I don't, I am not right sure to be honest, I think anger is more accepted, I think anger is more acceptable emotion in the police rather than anxiety or panic or things like that, but I think that things are changing, I know a lot of people have had, a lot of people have sort counselling after the Manchester bomb and rightly so if it helps them, why not, but personally I was working that night, I don't feel it necessary but that is something that I might talk about on another entry. Like I say on that incident, I've got nothing really else to say. Unfortunately I can't tap into these emotions because they are just not there. I want to make a recording to, to put down on record really some of the feelings that I have been experiencing over the next week, which has caught me a little bit by surprise. If I start by saying that last week I went to the investigation of a death, I went to the scene of a young lady who had passed away. It was the, the first death that I have actually physically dealt with since my mum passed, and I wanted to deal with it personally, I wanted to go to the scene, I wanted to do the search of the body, to, I suppose, get it out of the way to an extent as I was slightly apprehensive about how I am going to be around death and everything, since mum, but I was pleased that I was able to search the	1, 6, 9, 12, 12, 33, 5,	Very honest reflections - healthy understanding of personal reactions to emotions.

body without any issues. I was able to document various conditions with the body, I was able to deal with the scene and the people and even debrief the people who found them and it all went, I thought, really well, so much so that when I came home, I got home very late, but when I came home and then saw the family the next day, I was able to tell wife, who is the job, about how it had gone and that I was quite pleased and I felt good that I had sort of passed a bit of a milestone if you like, the funny thing was that I then the following night, I was again late off, had a busy shift, no real dramas in it, but as I am on my way home I called in what I thought was either a drink or a dangerous driver. I don't usually bother if I am to be honest, as I see bad driving all of the time as most people do, but this was dangerous as in that the car was crossing right over the other side of the road and there were a couple of cars coming towards us that had to swerve, so I called it in, fairly standard apathetic response if you like, in that there weren't any cars available to deal with. I ended up having to get closer in order to get the full index number so that they could put out a circulation, at which point the people in the car realised that I was following them and then started following me. I tried to call it in again and couldn't get through and I realised that I was actually quite close to home when this car had started following me so, I effectively, and rather strangley, made off effectively, it was a range rover so it didn't have a lot of problem loosing it, and that is the first time in years and years and years I have acutally been scared if you like of getting caught and not so much, erm..., scared so much that I would be caught physically but more I suppose that my home would be compromised because of how close I was to home, because I was in my own car and they would have got my number plate and everything else, so I waited out of the area for a minute or two and drove back through and the car was laying in wait if you like on the route that I was coming back in on and when it saw me again it then really chased me and then I did have to try quite hard to get away from it, but what I found really odd was how much it shook me, I think that we spend so much of our time within the policing bubble feeling safe	7, 1, 3, 7, 11, 12, 44, 48,	Lack of support and isolation - suppressing anxiety. Building of pressure - convergence of work and home life pressures. Struggle to maintain control (and I suppose emotional suppression)

because we are cops, when you are on your own and isolated and literally your actions will define whether or not something bad happens to you, and your family, it is totally different and that shook me quite a bit. And then to cap off my slightly emotional week, I had a normal day on the last shift and finally got home on time had a nice dinner with my wife, sitting down she says 'oh let's put a film on' so we put on The Greatest Showman, which I have not seen before, and it is just the sort of thing that my mum would have liked and, I really didn't handle it well and I got very upset out of no where really and yeah, it was an odd feeling, and to be fair, even thinking about it now upsets me, so I think what I will take from it is that my emotions are still much closer to the surface than I had realised and even though it is business as usual at work it has helped me push them down a bit or push them away from the surface, when my buttons are pressed they are still quite close, so interesting, I am going to have to watch it though because it is not done, my overall stress levels are good and I know from experience when I am particularly emotional, not that I am a drama queen by any stretch but if I am suffering the ill effects of my emotions I don't make brilliant decisions, so yeah, I have to check and double check but anyway.. Just going to make a recording as I travel home from work, I had a bit of an epiphany today, which I think is worth noting I suppose, rather than sharing. But effectively had a very busy, a very busy week, which is becoming a bit of a norm at the minute, which is become a bit of a norm, we have only go three DI's out of a team of seven covering for critical incidents that mean that the ones that are at work are spread quite thin, and have a lot of demands placed on their time. The situation that we have got at the minute, is compounded by the fact that we have, with it being football season and the world cup and it being really warm, people are trying to kill each other, rob each other or just genuinely being unpleasant. So the point that I wanted to talk about was some bits this week, I was the DI covering our area when we had two suspicious deaths come in on the same day, both were fairly	44, 45, 53, 1, 2, 3, 5, 53, 53, 44, 53, 42, 53, 48, 44, 48,	Noticed starting to feel unwell - flight or fight kicking in, not threat of personal violence but threat of responsibility of work and failing due to outside circumstances. Recognising agency is terms of emotional reactions.

difficult to manage because the first scene was, a street death where somebody had been beaten to death and I had a lot of arguments with the major crime team about them coming down and taking responsibility for it. The difficulty with that was that it was officers higher than me in rank, and a complete lack of top cover from my bosses to get involved to sway the argument, so that was difficult I found, I could feel myself getting more, when I say choked and I don't mean upset, I mean I could find myself getting more anxious if you like. I could feel the pressure building within me whilst it was going on, I was having a lot of questions asked from senior officers around what was happening and were we going to get the suspects in, and what was happening around the forensics around the victim. The protocol in my force is that if it is going to be a major crime investigation, which a murder would be, then they make the decisions on those stages, and I couldn't get the DCI who was obviously a rank higher up than us, I couldn't get them to intervene or respond to me or come back to me as to what they wanted to do, so it was becoming really difficult to over see that, without loosing my rag and to do the other critical incidents that were still coming in. We had an arson, a stabbing, there were some people trafficking jobs and some other bits, so I found really the pressure was mounting up and up, and also conscious that I have got a lot going on at home because I have had my elderly dad suddenly turn up on our doorstep, and he is a drinker, which is not particularly easy to deal with. I could feel in myself, I started to feel unwell, about probably half way through the day, I then managed to park the first job with MIT, so they then took responsibility for this death and before I had even managed to write up how that had happened , I then another death came in, it was just a genuinely really, really frustrating day. So, I found myself wanting to be out of work, and wanting to almost escape, and it was starting to get to the stage where I was starting to react a little bit like fight or flight, and I didn't really reflect, I don't know why I didn't, I suppose it was either pressure or time but I didn't really have time to reflect on how I had got myself that wound up, but suffice	1, 7, 37, 1, 8, 53,	Working hard to manage emotions.

to say that I have recognised that it was a pretty crap day, I was fairly glad to be having the following day off which was yesterday as annual leave, a massive, massive boost to my spirits, just being off work, without having to answer the phone to anything from seven in the morning to ten at night about something unpleasant and I am just coming into work today feeling recharged. I have had a bit of an epiphany because, I can say this at the moment, although I have had a busy and fairly productive day, that it is, it really is clear to me that it doesn't matter what happens to you, you are always going to be in a busy job, you are always going to have a lot of demands, whether it is your family or friends or people going through processes or work, or victims, they are always going to want a lot from you, and I can't control that, but what I can control, is how I react to it and I think, what I am going to try and tap into going forwards is how I react to things, because I am quite self aware and if I can use that to be my point of reference and hopefully it doesn't matter what shit comes my way I will be able to at least try and put a leash on how I react, but I suppose that all comes as part and parcel of trying to manage your emotions really. Time will tell, but yeah genuinely not a bad end to the week I have had much worse, it does help that I have had rest days tomorrow. And I think that this is one of the first time that I have done one of these for the project going into rest days, so onwards and upwards. Talking about incidents at work and the recent couple, well within the last two weeks, it has been fairly busy at work, the Metropolitan Police is going through a great amount of change, and my department will no longer be in its current format from October. I am currently acting up as an A/DI and I have about twenty five members of staff who are all anxious and waiting to find out where they are going to be posted, which part of the Metropolitan police they are going to end up and what they are likely to have and what shift patterns, and the organisation haven't really got it into place where, and communicated it effectively, they have, they send out lots of information, but none of	8, 34, 29, 35, 34, 1, 8, 37, 35,	Lack of certainty, lack of control causing anxiety. Impression that members of public don't care.

this is clear and this has been going on for about three years in planning now and everyone knows that they are going to go but no one knows where or what or who they will be working with, and this is creating a great big deal of anxiety, for a lot of my staff. So, that is the first thing I wanted to talk about, it is the changes that we are going through at the moment, members of the public don't understand about the changes that we are going through, and don't seem to really care, my colleagues are anxious and are getting irritable by the thing and taking it out on each other and they, I think performance has gone down in the last few weeks and this is becoming more and more of a reality, erm as expressions of interest on where they want to go are finally out, but and we all know that they have been sorted but we have not been told where we are going. It has been quite hard to listen to twenty five people moaning about exactly the same thing, I have absolute sympathy because I agree with them and I have that point to, but obviously I have to show the management side of what is going on, and really all I want to say to them is 'yeah, I agree it is an absolute shambles, and you have been treated horrendously and we all have', but it is having that constant conversation over and over again, and it is quite draining and trying to remain positive and trying to make sure that they are not, their performance does not dip is becoming quite a chore. I am not sure that that is an incident or not that you are looking for but erm.. I will come onto another which is more specific to investigations in a minute, but I just thought that I would set out what, what the biggest point is at the moment making my life, my professional life more difficult. It is just a drain, I think that is what it is, it is a drain and it is becoming more and more hard to be emotionally sensitive to these and I can't wait for it all to come in now where I think it is absolutely going to be horrendous experience to go through, I would rather just get on with it now and everyone can then understand what they are left with, even if it is as bad as we think that it is, at least it is better than what, well it can't be worse than what everyone is expecting, and everyone getting wound up with. On a couple of	39, 37, 37, 35, 34, 43, 39, 8, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 13, 12, 10, 2, 3, 5, 37, 8, 34, 35, 37,	Lack of control - emotionally exhausting. Finding attack personal are more difficult to take, and the inability to defend self - having to suppress injury and frustration and hurt. Lack of PA.

incidents recently I wrote off a rape investigation recently regarding a female who was raped by a known male to her, and it clearly did not meet the full code test and the, the standard letter that we write and we send out to people, and I write off and I have, well I have about one hundred and forty investigations that I am managing, one of them, the females and her mother have started to write to me and I have been receiving quite a few letters now, the mother her appears to have been a victim of rape in 1977 and all of the horrible experiences that she has gone through and all her interactions with police is coming out and blaming me and it's, it is personal and she's, and both of them are accusing me of having no empathy for their situation and basically being unprofessional and basically not giving them what they want which is basically the referral to the Crown Prosecution service, but obviously it is my job to make sure that we deal with those, and I am not an overly sensitive person, I don't think, but I just but I don't have the right to respond. I can't write back to them and detail each one of their points about how wrong they are and actually I do care and that your perceptions of me from one letter are wrong, that they are not, that is how emotive the language that they use, and I know after fifteen years of doing this job and years of dealing with rape victims, I think that is why I am upset about it and I don't know why, why I shouldn't, why I am getting so worked up about it because I feel that I do put in everything that I can into the job and I do things, and I do things professionally but I have obviously got to uphold the rules and the law and make sure that everybody, including the suspect is treated fairly and this, and in this case it clearly would not be appropriate to refer the matter to the Crown Prosecution Service, and it is not that they are writing in and asking for it just to be reviewed again, which is fine and I can accept that, it is the, it is the emotions, and I can understand why they have got it, but it is that emotions and making it personal and it is like I don't care, because I commit my life into going into work for the last fifteen years, and the vast majority of that dealing with rape victims and I wouldn't do that if I didn't think it was an important thing to deal	48, 44, 27, 28, 37, 1,	Not being seen as human, and therefore MOP feel they have a right to attack and that officers don't have feelings.

with and I feel that they are being, they think that I am flippant about the decisions that I make, where I am clearly not, and I want to... but it is not about me it is about them, but sometimes you just can't, you can't express and you can't write back to them and say, right this is the true response that I want to make, and I am human too, but clearly she has suffered more, both of them have, is the mother is to be believed, and that is fine but I still feel that I can't react on an emotional level and respond in the same way that they are and, while that is right, it grated with me, it really grated with and I don't know why, because other people have made complaints about me previously, people have said things, but in this case I don't, I feel that they are being, they are being unfair and I have not got, I haven't got the right to reply, but obviously I remain professional throughout, so. I haven't really discussed it with, well I discussed it with my boss and he is kind of a bit... he is a bit flippant about it, he doesn't mind about it, and given a bit of advice, he is not, he's not that bothered and I probably haven't told him how much it is winding me up and I haven't expressed to anyone else, I don't bring these things home and I don't talk to my wife about policing, we were chatting last night, my wife and I about how, about a management questionnaire that I had to do in the Metropolitan police, that gave feedback on what kind of manager that I am like, and she said about, how things affect me at work, because I have never really talked about it, and I said things have affected me and do affect me but I try and leave them at home, or leave them at work, but that's, but that is probably not true, it probably just stays with me in my brain. With coping strategies and, my experiences at work, I, I, we have got a new puppy, we had a dog before but he got too old for walking, and I started to, when we got a new dog, and one of the reasons that we got a new dog is that I wanted to get out and walk, and walk far, she is a Springer, so she needs lots of walking and that's, it is good to get out and about and walk with her and stride with her and try and clear the brain, going back to if there were any rules about emotions and display as a police officer so I think that there clearly is, I think that people expect us to be	14, 12, 7, 4, 19, 18,	Have to suppress indignation. Lack of empathy from boss - not fully opened up. Coping - walking dog outdoors.

strong and bullet proof and not, not emotional and not have opinions and things, if you look at the the backlash, the backlash if you would like to say on the Lush thing last week and people will kind of vent editorials and comments pieces in the Guardian saying about it is a dangerous slippery slope and I am not, well police officers are entitled to having opinions and emotions and getting upset when they are called liars but that doesn't seem to be, we seem to have to be robocops, and yeah, I think that it is easier now to display emotions because social media accounts and public are getting more and more attuned that but I still think that we are expect to be perfect and thick skinned and go on from one thing to the next, I don't think that members of the public understand the amount of depravity out there and all that kind of stuff and I wouldn't want them to, to know about that and the, the sheer quantity and depravity of situations we deal with, because the vast majority of people would not understand and it would scare them too much, and what, yeah, do they need to know about that, are they,, are they better off in their bubbles and are we juts there to protect their bubbles.. I think that as a police force we are better at talking about emotions, and I think that comes actually from having more females officers around and being a lot more, a lot more sensitive to emotions and chatting about it, and it is watching the home affairs select committee the other day with Cressida Dick and Lynn Owens and Sarah Thornton and it kind of they presented their evidence a lot differently than previous Home Affairs select committees and it was a pleasure to move away from that kind of point scoring machoism that often comes with a male working environment and I think my, my intake at Hendon was one of the largest female intakes, or definitely the largest female intake even at the time and there was clearly a lot of refreshing ideas there and the machoness of it of policing and allowing emotions to come through is clearly, clearly been helped by female colleagues, I think a lot of my closest friends through policing have been female colleagues and it has always been easier to talk to them, I think men are often more cut off and that macho image of being a police	48, 34, 53, 53, 52, 45, 52,	Robots - police officers are not allowed to have feelings. Officers are there to absorb the bad things in the world to protect the good people but they can't have feelings about it. Women in policing is helping emotional openness and acceptance.

officer and being a man is sometimes a dangerous combination, I got a, talking about at the end about how police officers cope psychologically with their daily work, I think police officers do have to be tougher, and I think there is a certain kind of person that needs to be a police officer, you need to be to be a police officer, but there are a couple of officers on my team who struggle psychologically and I am carefully weighing up how I word this for their confidence, confidentiality, and I think it depends very much on your management, I would like to think that my team and my supervisors on my team, we are, well some of us are more receptive than others to realising the psychological strain of being a police officer, the pressures and the demands of complainants, especially in the field that I work in and the demands of the suspects who have been accused, even if they are criminals they don't like being accused of rape and they are demanding and often emotional about the accusation that they have achieved and the wider pressures from management and society for looking into, looking rape investigations puts a lot of pressure in my team and there are some of my team I think are, done with that kind of investigation and could do with going to something, maybe not victim led, to victimless crime as such like drug dealing or something where they could do with a break and they have been doing it too long, and no one really wants to come in to replace so that they can't go so it is very much regarding my field I think that we are quite poor at looking after the psychological impact of it on police officers and because we want to deliver and we put the public first and again, but some of my officers clearly need a break from the, from the complainants and victims who are have gone through a horrendous and tragic experience that has wrecked their lives and, I feel that they need the support and that often is my officers because they can talk frankly to my officers about it but having a crime load of twenty odd investigations each for the investigations there are probably a similar amount for the sexual offences, my SOITs trained officers, it's difficult to remain emotionally balanced. I will sign off there.	48, 48, 52, 48, 53, 52, 45, 44, 53, 53,	Easier to talk to women, being a police man is isolating and un healthy. Officers need to be tough, but they need to have an understanding management in an ever increasing pressurised job.

I wanted to start off by talking about my return to work following a period of annual leave, it was only a short period of annual leave, just over a week or so but it felt like I was away for quite a while, and it was interesting, the feelings I was getting just before, going back in and the approach to the first day back and, I was extremely anxious, to the point that I felt physically quite sick really, just thinking about the amount of work that would be waiting for me upon my return, even though I had only been away for a relatively short period of time, and all the urgent stuff that I just didn't have time to do before I left and, no one else to do it for me. So all of that was on my mind as well and it, the day before, my first day back in the office, it really started to loom, I guess and made me feel quite, erm.. depressed I guess about going back, and that sought of made me question whether I am in the right place at the moment, or in the right job, or in the right department, and things like that, and the other thing that had an impact on me on the first day back was when I stepped into my department, erm.. it was very much as if I hadn't been away at all, no one outside of my own team really even acknowledged that I had walked back into the office, which isn't unusual and I certainly don't expect special treatment or anything like that but it was interesting to just notice a lack of acknowledgement, and it was a reminder I guess that certainly within the organisation which is so big, I am just a number and whether I am there or not is irrelevant really, and in one sense I guess that could be comforting to some people but for me I like to feel part of a team and I like to be cared about and care for other team members, and I just didn't really get that, beyond my immediate team who are good, and did welcome me back. So that was nice, but erm I guess it was just a bit of a reminder that nothing changes whether you are there or not, and again that compounded some of the feelings that was having prior to stepping back into the office, and I was sort of left with a sort of 'what is the point?' question mark erm..yeah. Having now completed a couple of days back, I feel much more settled with everything, there is still a lot to do, a lot to get back on top of, some things that have been missed	12, 34, 35,	There needs to be more awareness and acceptance of the emotional toll that a large work load of traumatic crimes can have, and to support officers in coping.

unfortunately, erm.. which I am just going to have to accept, I feel back in the saddle, so a bit more in control of things which makes me feel better, the feelings that I had prior to returning have gone, the other thing that is happening at the moment is that a lot of people are leaving the organisation and my team, and I have only been part of my team for about a year and a half now, and it is pretty much almost entirely changed in terms of staffing, staffing has been severely reduced, at one point we were one sergeant and ten officers, we are now are very lucky to have a shift where it is one sergeant and anything above three or four officers, and the work load hasn't decreased, in fact there has been a marked increase and remaining officers having to pick up the cases and the case load of the officers who have moved on, so there is a little bit of resentment I guess towards the officers who have moved, but it is also difficult to deal with those constant changes in team dynamics and having to welcome new officers and train them up to a certain extent. And er.. yeah, it has an impact and all the while dealing with a heavy case load, a high risk case load, serious cases before crown court, which will require servicing and it is just you, pressure from management to deal with outstanding suspects, it is hard. I am not sure how much longer I can do my current role without a change, I have got very itchy feet at the moment as a result of many of these feelings, so I am definitely looking around at what else I can do perhaps, or what other parts of the organisation I could serve. So yeah, that is what is going on at the moment, in terms of talking about all of these feelings, I guess I have not really shared them with colleagues in as much depth, I have certainly discussed them with family though who are always supportive and happy to listen to me, erm.. and sometimes it is just good to vent, in any role. So, yeah that is where I am at the moment, let's see how the rest of the week goes, it is my weekend on duty this week so it is a long week seven days on, and I will be doing some supervision on the weekend as well, with I think two officers, to deal with the start of the world cup and a possible increase in domestic abuse which is my crime area, so we will see how that goes and let's	35, 53, 53, 35,	Pressure prior returning to work. Significant levels of anxiety. Feeling irrelevant. Undervalued and replaceable - we are all numbers.

hope that there is no major incidents because we really don't have the capacity to, to deal with it as a department at the moment with our staffing levels and there is no sign that will be abating at any time soon, although the holes are starting to be plugged with direct entrance which is a whole other story really, they do seem good but they will require a lot of training and they do just seem to be dumped on the, on the team and it will be left to officers to, to do the actually training rather than having proper trainers around, which seems a little odd but and just adding to the work load but erm, we will see what happens on that front, I see that Tom Winsor has made some comments about how stretched officers are at the moment, which is interesting, I think there is definitely a bit more of an awareness with the public about the, the stresses of policing at the moment and the demands on individual officers, erm that seems to being recognised on a political level now as well, and in the media, so hopefully that will lead to some change, but er.. I think I saw a figure that there has been a loss of 22,000 officers over the last eight years I think that is from the police federation, it feels it, it feels like it, I am not sure what can be done to return to our previous levels, but a few more bums on seats would be helpful. Anyone, I am rambling a little bit now so I will bring this recording to a close, we will see what happens with the next one. I guess, it has been a while since the last one, just owing to the business of work and life and things like that. I was going to try and be a bit more structured this time and talk about a few things that have come up this week but particularly following some guidance to talk about my feelings around case load and things like that but, yeah, it has been a, it has been a good week and a bad week (goodweek/bad week) because we managed to charge and put away a suspect in a high risk case, domestic abuse and the court remanded him to prison to await trail as well, so I feel that we have really protected the victim in the matter but that took two days of very hard work, and that as a result I wasn't able to do anything else on the rest of my case load as well, so although we got	35, 35, 53, 35, 44, 44, 35, 44, 53, 35, 44, 54,	Feeling isolated and unloved. Lack of PA - I don't make a difference nobody notices if I am here or not. Control. Feeling abandoned and not valued? Feeling abandoned and resentment at increase of work load. Emotionally exhausting dealing with changes alongside workload.

the right result in that case, getting the right result in that case had a direct impact on all the others, perhaps less risky, but still important and it just sort of brought home to me that, the lack of time and resources really in order to put the effort into every single case that comes across your desk and you really do have to pick and choose what you put your attention into as a police officer and that doesn't feel fair really because it does mean that some victims are getting a very good service and some victims aren't getting a very good service and that is based on the decision making of the officer, and there is obviously a rationale and reason behind that but I don't know that that makes it right or not because everyone's crime will feel the most important to them and certainly when looking at some of the good feedback that officers have got across the organisation, there was a comment that particularly chimes with me that I read, I think last week, but essentially a vicitim was writing in to say that whenever they spoke to their detective, the officer in charge of their case and the detective always made it feel to them as if it was the only case that they were dealing with and that, and they felt important as a result, they felt cared for and they felt confidence in the police service, which is obviously very, very important indeed, and I think that is a skill which not everyone has and it is not always easy to present really. Yeah, it is difficult. So, anyway, high risk jobs, good result but potentially the effort that you put into that job has a negative impact on the rest of your case load, in terms of case load the position hasn't really changed since last time I recorded the cases that I particularly have concerns about at the moment is one from late 2017 where there has just been outstanding actions and lots of supervisory updates for a few months now and no action on my part, and that is not for, not for wanting to do something on it but it, I don't know, it has just fallen somehow and that makes me, when the ball is dropped, not dropped in a sense that it is causing any particular risk, I mean essentially the suspect in that case has gone to ground so I know that that is not going to go anywhere for a while but because the urgency has gone, and been replaced by lots of urgent	35, 44, 44, 53, 44, 12,	Emotional Exhaustion lack of PA leading to flight. Suppressed feelings with colleagues - speak to family.

cases there has been a lack of activity around it and I feel, a lot of guilt around that, a lot of concern that oh what if this guy does get arrested and nothing is ready and how that will reflect on me and my reputation for good work, and also we are in the middle of 2018 now and having a 2017 case on your file isn't ideal really, though I guess it is not too bad, though yeah, it is a cause for concern at least and it is always on my mind. Also, when cases like that do fall behind it is very easy to ignore, or try and ignore, and I have definitely been going through that process as well, in terms of knowing that there is work to be done on it and ignorining that fact and putting it off so I don't have to face up to the fact that I haven't done certain things, and then that feeling is competing against the feeling that I need to do something on it, if that makes sense. So I am running away but knowing that I have to face it at some point and that is a cause of stress at the moment. There is also one case from earlier this year, 2018, where I know it attracts the STL and I am getting very, very close to that now and I don't want to be in a position where the investigation completes after the STL expires and we refer the matter and the CPS can't do anything because of that and that will be my fault. And again, because there are certain things that haven't been done yet on that, I feel that I am perhaps ignoring or running away from it but still know that at some point I need to face up and just do it, and I am a bit unsure as, talking about it now, I am a bit unsure as to why I don't simply just face up to it straight away and why I put those two cases off when I know that there is urgent things and part of that is, I don't know, I guess learning about my approach to those sorts of situations but the other part is genuinely that newer cases come in and that require immediate actions, high risk cases, serious, more serious cases perhaps and you need to put time and energy elsewhere, so things fall behind but that doesn't change the feelings involved. And the other big case on my mind at the moment is an attempted murder cases where there is quite a lot of actions to complete and they are all sort of getting done but it is just me, I am the only investigator trying to do it all, and it is not a complicated case as	48, 53, 44, 35, 34, 35, 44, 44, 52,	

such but it is a serious one and it is going to have a lot of expectation from the department and the courts and, *pause* yeah, and I just need time to do that, but again time is a resource which just isn't there at the moment. We have had another officer leave this week and we are now down to one supervisor and four officers, I am the only detective constable on my team, the others being two trainee detective constables, one of whom is a direct entrant who has only just started with us this week, who I am responsible for as a mentor, and a PC. So despite only having, only qualifying in the last few months as a detective myself, I am the senior officer on the team and I am also the acting detective sergeant and deputise for my line manager and I have had to, he is currently deputising as an acting detective inspector, so I have been leading two core shifts this week. So not only have I had two days of dealing with the high risk job, but it was then followed by two days of supervision and I have been working six days this week so four out of the six days have been working everything else other than my case load which means that there are two days where I have to try and get everything done which is difficult. And, when I allocate cases and screen cases in for further investigation to the department it is notable how little staff we have, we are in a position now where more crimes are coming in than we have capacity for if we are going by the rules that we have set ourselves for the department and it is interesting that the rules that we have set ourselves flex according to demand. Management don't seem to dig in and say 'well it is not acceptable that an officer has so many cases' or staff. Our minimum strength used to be something along the lines of two sergeants and six officers and then that could never be achieved and then the minimum strength, so instead of saying we need more staff, the minimum strength figures were just skewed to have one supervisor and three officers, and many night duties are like that a core shifts, many core shifts are like that, I have done core shifts where it is myself supervising and one other officer and that officer is on restricted duties. It is just crazy, so that is always in the background of the work itself which is hard and	44, 35, 51, 35, 44, 53,	Frustration at not being able to service all cases - lack of PA. Lack of PA in an officer considering to leave. Shame, lack of PA lack of control over work. Suppressing worry about case, as can't service. Suppressing fear and anxiety.

demanding and challenging, and risky. So, I am not sure quite how it works, but it is, and I can't say that I'm severly stressed, I am stressed but managing at the moment, but I can certainly can see things starting to fray, and I have noticed in myself that I, I do less things outside of work time, I am less social now and that is a change over the last six months, I go out less. I was always going to museams or events and gallerys and theatre and stuff like that, and I do still do stuff like that but it is noticeably reduced which is a bit of a concern, as well. Sorry, I was just closing a door there. There is a question specifically asked around emotions and emotions dealing with victims and offenders and support from the team and the wider organisation. I have talked a little bit already about emotions around dealing with older cases and responisibity to victims, in terms of emotions in dealing with offenders I can't say that I have any particular emotions around that, there is defeinately a continuing pressure though, there is a spreadsheet sent out on a daily basis saying how many outstanding suspects the department is holding and individual officers are singled out and things are marked in red if there hasn't been any action and things like that so, again it loads the pressure on, I mean it has got to the point now where I simply delete those emails because I know what is on my case file, and I know that some things are urgent and I always try to do my best on that front, so I don't need a spreadsheet from someone else to tell me that I have got an outstanding suspect, but I guess when people are waiting to be arrested and waiting to be dealt with it is, it is not ideal, I mean I have certainly noticed that we try every which way now to deal with things without the need to arrest people, even in domestic abuse matters just because it is quicker. It is quicker to get people in for a voluntary interview and have time to make a decision rather than mess around with the beuracracy that is arresting someone, dealing with extentsions to PACE clocks, dealing with bail, dealing with superintendents extension to bail, court extention to bail, dealing with premises searches after arrest, section 18s section 32s and everything that goes with that, and the key thing within that is time, custody cases	35, 35, 52, 44, 48, 34,	Shame, lack of PA, Anxiety. Lack of control and PA - anxiety.

and bail cases obviously have to take priority because there is a time scale and again that ties in to the issues around not dealing with older cases, not dealing with the things that ought to have been dealt with already but haven't because more pressing things come in and that might be a prisoner or a bail case or a newer case that might require immediate actions or a high risk case or anything like that, so there are so many things that can get in the way of what is actually important, well I mean it is all important but its it is very easy to get derailed and I see it happen with other officers and then little mistakes start to get made and I see that with myself as well, and you miss certain things and you just don't utilise your investigative skills that you would like to be in my mind, detectives is all about detail, and looking for the detail and often we will just try and get through our jobs as quickly as possible in order to get them off the case load, as opposed to providing an in depth detailed investigative service to all the individuals involved, and that doesn't feel great and it doesn't sound great. When I acknowledge that that is the truth and I don't think that the public would like that either really, and I don't think that that is fair as I spoke about at the beginning of this recording, and I know that I struggle with not being able to deliver the service that I want to deliver, that is probably the single, I can manage stress, I can manage work load, but I think that feeling of not doing the best that you would like to be doing is, is going to be the issue that will ultimately see me leave the service because I am a perfectionist and I want to do things to the best of my ability and if I am unable to do that because of all the other factors involved, that's, that's a frustration and I can feel that starting to build for sure. But we will see, it is find for now *laughs* hopefully some of that is useful, it is difficult to talk about and separate how I feel about work to the actually work, a lot of what I am talking about sounds very factual, this is what we are dealing with, this is how it is, I don't feel that I have gone into detail about how I feel yet, but I guess that is because I am still exploring that to a certain extent. So perhaps more in the future on that front.		Overwhelmed by work load. Building up of stress, coping failing, lack of social engagement. Shame and pressure and lack of PA. hame and fear of not being able to do tjob that they wish and failing and there being a significantly negative outcome.

Appendix K: Initial Thematic Analysis of Secondary Data (Media Review).

Initial Thematic Coding of Secondary Data: 'Triple 9'

Corruption. Value Dissonance. Opening sequence shows police officers involved in a heist that involves civilian fatalities, firearms and explosives. They are not undercover, they are criminals. They are living dual lives. Take calls from criminal colleagues at police station.

One bad cop is paired with a good cop - new to the division.

Depersonalisation. The heist is reported as having been committed by criminals that spoke Spanish - therefore the police consider the Hispanic community as suspects. There are disparaging comments made about this community, a strong sense of 'othering'.

One of the criminals is mutilated and another performs a mercy killing in front of the cops. There is little in the way of emotional reaction. Maybe shock.

Dissociation. Police (good and bad) turn up at scene of gang land murder and beheading. Heads are on the bonnet of a car. There is use of humour 'you be careful, you don't want to get your suit dirty' 'I'm not worried, I have two'. They are not engaging with the horror of the situation - and focus on something else and use humour to express themselves. There is a lot of posturing - quite macho. Boldly walking across police lines, almost a swagger - challenging, passive aggressive.

On identifying the heads on the car bonnet the conversation again is depersonalising 'I don't know what the fuck they would be doing over here' 'probably looking for their bodies'. Again, use of crude humour. Unfeeling, not other emotional response depicted.

Aggression. When the good cop makes an arrest for public disorder at the beheading scene the bad cop takes a disliking to his actions. He takes him into a nearby petrol garage for a 'word' and aggressively shows the shop worker his badge and tells him to go for a smoke, locking the door behind him. He shows no need to regulate his feelings of anger to members of the public.

Devaluing of colleagues. Bad cop goes on to 'explain' to good cop why the arrest was a bad arrest and an over-reaction on his part. Asks 'did he hurt your feelings?' Explains 'this is the fucking streets that's what people do'. De-values the good cop's feelings in the situation. 'Get out of school'. There is an implication that good cop hasn't toughened up. 'This ain't no fucking game Chris, the rules around here are different' 'so you better learn fast'. Good cop defends himself and seeks to leave the garage - tries to get out of the door, bad cop explains 'unlock the door, stupid'. Bullying behaviour and power play.

Depersonalisation. The bad cops come up with a plan to distract the police and this is the 'triple 9 call' which is code for a cop down. The plan is that they kill a cop as a way to distract the police district so they can carry out their next job. The bad cop comes up with the idea and relays the idea, without emotion, to the other criminals in the gang. The death of another cop is seen as merely as a means to an end. Again, no emotions are shown.

Bad cop one calls bad cop two out, states that he needs to find another way. Bad cop two debates what the difference is between killing a civilian and a cop. There is some loyalty and emotion shown, particularly as the audience discover that they are talking about killing the good cop, Bad cop one's partner.

Depersonalisation. Bad cop two states that every cop that goes to a cop funeral is thinking 'better him than me'. Bad cop two shows no emotional response to killing a cop and offers to do the job 'I'll do it, I don't have a problem taking out a cop'.

Good cop meets up with his Uncle, who is a detective Sgt. He is shown at home with the family, playing with good cop's kid, his Nephew. All is well. They he goes out for a beer, just Good cop and his Uncle, then they talk about the job.

Lack of PA. Good cop states that he wants to make a difference, but Uncle states that he needs to get that idea out of his head that he needs to 'out master the monster and get home at the end of the night.' Also, depersonalisation - 'the monster'.

Aggression. Uncle decides to start a fight with innocent bystanders in a bar - alcohol abuse.

Family and Society. Good cop back at home with his wife. She accuses him of sulking, infantilising his behaviour. She is not sympathetic and reminds him that he wanted the job. She is wearing an oversized US Marine Corps T shirt. He explains that his partner is an asshole. Wife say's 'since when does my tough guy let anyone get to him.' 'Now stop feeling so sorry for yourself.'

Value Dissonance. Uncle is out looking for leads and speaks to an informant 'Sweet Pea'. He pays for information, but at the same time smokes a joint with his informant.

Aggression. A warrant is issued in relation to the severed heads. A team is sent out to pick up the subject of the warrant. It is apparent that they are expecting violence, they are teamed up in an armoured van, with accompanying patrol cars. The mood in the back of the van in tense, the officers are wearing green military boy armour. Bad cop one reads the information on the subject and screws up the paper and throws it. The officers seem to be pumping themselves up to meet the violence that they are expecting.

After a shoot-out and a foot pursuit good cop and bad cop one get split up, good cop catches up with bad cop one where he finds that he is fighting with the subject who is trying to shoot him. Good cop executes the subject, saving bad cop one's life. Nothing is said between the cops, but bad cop one puts two bullets in the subject's body, post-mortem. The subsequent investigation into the shooting is shown, with the good cop and bad cop one being interviewed separately, but no words are spoken. Symbolically it is just silence.

Later good cop and bad cop two are shown having a beer and discussing the events of the day before (shooting of subject). Bad cop two states he can't remember anything, and good cop tells him it is a stress reaction. They are both slightly drunk.

Depersonalisation, Maladaptive Coping. Police unit night out at stripe club. Drinking shots with bullets in, dancing with girls (paid for). 'Male' bonding, objectifying women.

Value Dissonance. Corruption. Uncle pulls criminal for drugs - then takes drugs, whilst pumping criminal for information in exchange for busting her for the drugs.

Uncle finds that criminal from gang is sat outside good cops house and calls all units to and responds himself. Sign of emotional response - protecting family. No other display of emotion other than concern.

Bad cop two demands that one of the criminal's silences one of the others. Bad cop two is ruthless and shows no emotional response.

Bad cop one is shown as displaying remorse (staring at himself in the mirror) prior to the shooting of his partner. Bad cop two shows no remorse, and almost treats the plan as a game.

When good cop and bad cop one are in the housing project and bad cop one is waiting to kill his partner he is shown as emotional, and having doubts. However, he still goes to kill him.

Uncle responds to good cop's triple 9 call. The call to the heist in progress goes out. Uncle continues to triple 9 call.

Bad cop two is shown as completing the heist and then going to the triple 9 as a murder detective. No emotion. Very calm, despite being wounded, and seeing that good cop is still alive.

Uncle's home depicts a chaotic lifestyle of drug and alcohol abuse. Uncle is half naked asleep upright in his chair during the day with a bottle between his legs. Everywhere there are empty bottles and drugs paraphernalia. Good cop is visiting him to tell him that he suspects bad cop one tried to get him killed and that another cop is in on it. No emotion shown, Uncle responds by clinically analysing the situation as good cop calmly presents his theory.

Uncle is in back of bad cop two's car, waiting to shoot him. He shoots and kills him and is hit himself. No words are spoken, no emotion is shown. The viewer is left wondering what motivates Uncle. Why he was happy to sacrifice himself.

Initial Coding of Secondary Data: Traffic Cops Series 14 Episode 4.

Depicted as life and death role. Depersonalised decision making in life or death pursuit decisions. Emotions are not shown (suppressed) and not considered within the decision-making process - ie how do they effect decision making and should this be accounted for?

Sgt dealing with fail to stop RTI very calm and procedural. Speaks to driver who is pinned in car and awaiting transport to hospital. Very matter of fact, no emotion, empathy or sympathy. Calm analysis of scene. As air ambulance is called away and waiting for ambulance Sgt looks in boot of offending vehicle and finds suspect goods.. Sgt quickly moves on from concern for driver to investigation of potential crime (whilst waiting for ambulance).

'Dizzy Driver' slang for disqualified driver. Depersonalisation for crime. Cat and mouse situation. Disqualified drivers are not driving but have told police that they are intending to walk. Officers don't believe so sit up on drivers. Driver make off in vehicle, pursuit ensues - air support and other traffic cops respond. Calm reactions from officers - emotional suppression.

Officers talking of high adrenaline levels balanced with the need to keep calm and not cause a collision. Officer is observed stopping the vehicle and dealing with the suspect. Officer is calm but very controlling of the situation - he is very quick to move to take the vehicle keys out of the ignition before he has spoken to the driver. Suspect adrenaline is having an affect despite the officer trying to suppress his anxiety and stress experienced as a product of the pursuit.

Dizzy Driver decamp passenger of traffic vehicle heard to say as getting out of car 'I'm having him' and runs off in direction of car. Driver of traffic vehicle tackles passenger, who is aggressive towards cops, cop responds calmly but decisively. Passenger is abusive to officers, but officers do not respond. Emotional suppression. Non emotional.

Suspect burglar brought into custody and given mental health assessment. Again, a dispassionate response from officers. Very procedural way of dealing with potential mental health issues.

Despite pursuit and catch and mouse games, police are very matter of fact about incidents that occur.

Officers explain to victim of burglary that they can't pursue a charge. Sympathetic to situation and patient in explaining reasons. However, do not allow own feelings to be expressed.

Focus on collisions and danger.

Traffic officer being interviewed is honest about the distress that he experiences as a result of some of the incidents that he attends. Dispassionately.

Attend RTI vehicle in middle of Harrogate Stray - humour about placement of vehicle before assessing whether there are any casualties or fatalities. Dealing with female driver who caused the crash, who is visibly shaken and upset. Dealt with sympathetically. However, when being interviewed later the same officer states that he doesn't believe that this was just one of those things - an accident, but that she wasn't paying enough attention so is clearly not sympathetic towards her, despite what he may have displayed at the scene. When officers check the victim's vehicle, they find that his tyres are below the legal limit - and they summons him as a result. No room for sympathy, or discretion.

Officers attending Domestic Incident. Officer explains that he waits for back up before entering the address. Stating that he stands a better chance if he is with a colleague if there is someone in the property waiting for him. No emotional indicators or descriptive given. Officer states that part of him would rather stay with the victim and talk to her but he knows that he needs to go and search for the suspect. Shows some empathy for victim. States that no one should be that scared.

Officer stops driver who was using his mobile phone and didn't have his seat belt on. Driver is very anti police and argumentative. Officer remains calm. No emotional response, level voice. Despite admitting in later interview that he feels the driver is

making him out to be a liar, which he finds really annoying. The officer shows no emotion or sympathy for the driver, at the time of the stop or in the subsequent interview, when he says that the prosecution will lose him his job. This is not seen to resonate with the officer.

Initial Coding of Secondary Data: Happy Valley, Series 2, Episode 4.

Officer on duty 24 hrs. Implies not life outside of policing. PS off duty, goes to take a rape report off a prostitute (answers call at home, off duty, comes out during middle of night). Take notes on 'back of a fag packet'. Is clearly pissed off that the original attending officers haven't taken a statement.

Back at station PS berates officers for not taking statement. Is clearly angry. Shoots first, asks questions later. Loses temper. Refers to officers as 'hobby bobbies'. Degrading and depersonalising.

PS goes home for hour to see grandson for birthday then back on early turn.

PS gets in car and cries.

Gets home, but doesn't talk about work, despite being asked. States 'it's complicated'.

PS shown as stoic in face of tragic circumstances (loss of daughter, Grandson's birthday - difficult time). States 'we'll get through it' 'big smiles'.

Seems that true emotions (crying in car) are hidden from family - 'big smiles'.

Scene: briefing for investigation into rape (linked to murders). Everyone sat and stood round table. Not a cup of tea in sight. Everyone clean and pressed. List of actions reeled off. DCS asks DC why victim has number in her phone - very cool, asked in corridor as leaving briefing. DC is a little ruffled but gives answer. DCS then asks DC if everything is alright at home - DC replies okay 'you know, slings and arrows'. DCS then states 'the door is always open', then follows this offer of help with 'except when it is closed'. A kind of cruelty.

Depersonalisation. Insp discussing a death which the PS and PCSO had recently dealt with - states name then 'death of' then say's 'they're treating it as murder, not suicide'. Conversation held in passing in corridor.

Officers go to arrest young lad 'Ryan' for assault. They enter the family home, and mum asks a lot of questions, however, the officers ignore mum and speak with Ryan. Normally, people wouldn't be comfortable ignoring a person in their own home. No sympathy is shown for Ryan, despite having been a victim, and being a vulnerable adult with learning difficulties. Mum's feelings are dismissed in the situation. Also, mum offers to go to the police station to assist (appropriate adult) but again she is told not to bother and that she would just be hanging around. No offer of support.

DI in custody block further arrests a prisoner already on rape charge for murder. Prisoner emotionally disputes his involvement, over talking the DI. DI shows no emotion and is robotic in talking through the process. Devoid of emotion.

PS is asked to help with the taking of DNA from Ryan, who is resisting. Ryan is clearly upset, and unhappy that the bullies (that he has been arrested for assaulting) have been allowed to walk free whilst charged with assaulting him. PS is very firm and unsympathetic to the position Ryan has got himself in but is also kind to him and humanises him by talking to him as if he matters and she understands his situation. But is still very matter of fact, as if she is not emotionally affected.

PS goes home and finds out that a present to her Grandson is from her daughter's killer and she acts very emotionally, with anger and distress.

Interview of Rape/Murder suspect by DI and DC. No emotion shown other than mild frustration at the prepared statement and 'no comment' answer. Depersonalisation of suspect.

PS regrets her emotionally charged reaction to the present to her Grandson, and reconsiders what her actions could have been. She seems tearful and emotionally exhausted.

DCS briefing update, no alibies and forensic evidence. No interaction between the officers, no emotional reaction to investigation, no consideration of motive or

emotional angle of suspect/offender. Almost two dimensional. No tea. Actions are just a shopping list. No driving of investigation and motivation to obtain evidence - bad portrayal of investigative work. Police officers depicted as void of emotion, and personalities.

PS goes to Insp to ask for present to be fingerprinted. She asks him if she is over reacting - which he reassures her she is not, however when she starts to tell him what a bad week she is having he closes her down, talking over her saying 'I know, I know, I do know..' until she leaves the office.

(Theme - supervisors closing officers down when looking for personal support).

Conversation in car between DI, DC and DCS about murder suspect, questioning whether suspect had capability to be forensically aware. DCS depersonalises suspect by saying 'a low little twisted mind like that has probably absorbed every episode of CSI shown'.

PS meets father of PCSO in café and discusses daughter's drinking problem - he is concerned that there is something wrong. PS is very calm and matter of face, suggests that she needs a good night out, but agrees to talk to her. Again, non-emotional - but dealing with all problems of town, not just the work that she is assigned to.

DC is thrown out of his house by his wife - we don't know why, but another failed marriage.

PS never smiles.

PS apologises to grandson that she gets wound up about stuff.

Thematic Review of Secondary Data: 'Missing, Presumed' (Steiner, 2016).

Phase 1. Familiarization.

First read of book conducted between: 30th October 2017 - 13th November 2017. Initial notes made in text. Second read notes made below:

Chapter Manon Pg. 1-7.

DS in social situation (date) picks up on fingerprints on glass - compares to crime scene information. Pg. 1. 'the kind of oval spiral they dream of finding at a crime scene'. Pg. 2 leaving bad first date 'as if fleeing the scent of decomposing death. Every officer of the Major Incident Team knew that smell, the way it stuck to your clothes.'

DS described as emotionally immature pg. 5 'People who know her - well, Bryony mainly - disapprove of her emotional 'immaturity''.

DS described as childless woman, pg. 6 'Nature doesn't know what to do with a childless woman of thirty-nine, except throw her that fertility curve ball'.

DS described as insomniac who listens to a police radio to get to sleep, pg. 7 'It is the method by which she overcomes insomnia. Some rely on the shipping forecast; Manon prefers low murmurings about road traffic accidents or drunken altercations outside Level 2 Nightclub on All Saints Passage, all of which she can safely ignore because they are far too lowly for the Major Incident Team.' DS sees policing as comforting - reassuring of human kindness and protection, pg. 7 'It is human kindness in action, protecting the good against the bad'.

Overview Chapter Manon Pg. 1-7.

DS depicted as being 'married to the job' - always thinking about police work and relating events in private life to police work. Being unemotionally able to engage with others on an intimate level, and therefore able to sustain a relationship. Possible depersonalisation of 'others' (non-officers) and possible low-level mental health issues (insomnia).

Chapter Davy Pg. 26-31.

DC Davy describes DS Manon as grumpy, 'pissed-off' is normal, old and single - particularly described as 'lonely'. Described as crying in toilets and hiding her emotions. Pg. 27 'She must be at least thirty-nine, the loneliness rising off her like a mist'. 'He's seen Manon, more than once, red-eyed coming out of the second-floor toilets and his heart goes out to her on those occasions, watching her hurriedly wipe the snot away and try to act normal. Well, pissed off, which is normal'.

DS depersonalises victims and shows contempt and othering for press. Pg. 28 ‘Nothing like a festive stiff to warm the cockles of your front page.’

DC Davy great pride in his work, very much lives his job, wants to be seen in the role of Detective Constable. Pg. 29 ‘For Davy, climbing these steps with an important job to do makes him inflate with pride and elation. He wishes someone could see him...’ ‘What he was so proud of - was the electronic notice board announcing the life and death work going on here..’ ‘So much sexier than the jobs he could have had...’

DC Davy see’s the true humanity in his work. Pg. 29 ‘Human stories, base and sexual. The police operated in the seedy low light: drug runs, burglars in botched stick-ups, murderers who said they were nowhere near the scene but...’.

Viewed from outside (from girl-friend) as a bit childish in his love for the job Pg. 30 ‘You’ve really drunk the Kool-Aid, haven’t you?’

<u>Overview Chapter Davy Pg. 26-31.</u>

DS is viewed as closed, removed and lonely - though hiding deeper, distressed emotions. DS disparaging remarks of press depersonalising victims. Generally, deeply unhappy.

DC almost childlike in love for job, very vocational, believes he is doing something important with his life, that other jobs wouldn’t provide. Chooses not to ‘judge’ others. Almost likes to think of himself as untouched by the job - not hardened or desensitised.

<u>Chapter Manon Pg. 32-52.</u>

DS Manon observes DI Harriet in action, very action-based language, pg. 35 ‘She’s full of fire, unbridled’ ‘Once PolSA’s on board, the pressure will ease off a bit.’ Though also depersonalised: ‘Yup. I’ll go and talk to the parents. Urgh, this is the bit I hate - they’ll be frantic. Then I’m meeting Fergus in the press office.’ DI Harriet quickly moves on - task orientated.

Shows respect for DI Harriet’s commanding and driven attitude ‘If Manon ever went missing, she’d want Harriet to head up the search.’

DI Harriet displaying stress Pg. 41 ‘Don’t say anything,’ hisses Harriet, like an angry swan. ‘Don’t fucking say anything until we’re in my fucking office.’ ‘Right, I’ve thought of a name for this case. We’re calling it Operation Career Fucking Suicide.’ Depersonalises victim when under pressure from a personal perspective (not helping her focus on the work). DEPERSONILSATION

Pg. 42 open observation: ‘This was the nightmare of being SIO: the pressure from every quarter, having to make decisions about which lines to investigate in what order of priority, trying to work out which information is important and which can be discarded, and all those decisions being scrutinised from above and often from outside.’ EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION

DI Harriet is depicted as emotional - feeling the work that she does, connecting with victims, and this is viewed as good in the eyes of DS Manon, even though it means that Harriet maybe not coping with this. Pg. 43 ‘When Manon next saw her, she was leaning against a panda car, smoking a cigarette, looking furious and tearful at the same time. This is what Manon likes most about Harriet - no, not likes, understands: she isn’t on an even keel. She feels the work in every fiber, and it hurts her’. EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION

Observations of police officers thoughts of the job pg. 43: ‘Manon knows that Harriet, and most of their colleagues, cleave to the view that criminals either get off or get off lightly; that the system is stacked against the police. She’s aware that if police officers were allowed to draw up the legislation, it would probably contain the words *‘and throw away the key’*. What worries Manon is she’s joining their ranks. It can often feel as if they’re fighting a tide of filth and losing; you only needed to do a week in child protection to lose any liberal tendencies you ever had.’ PERSONAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

DI Harriet depicted as hard pg. 44 ‘Elsie humanised Harriet, who had a tendency to be hard’ ‘When you don’t have kids, everyone assumes you’re some fucking ball-breaking career freak, but it’s not like that. It’s more, y’know, a cock-up. It’s something that happened *to* me. Elsie gets that.’ DEPERSONLISATION (of other officers).

DC Bryony pg. 46 ‘It’s always the uncle, or the stepfather. Or the boyfriend. Or possibly a complete stranger.’ DEPERSONALISATION

DS Manon - true online dating profile pg. 47 *‘Misanthrope, staring down the barrel of childlessness. Yawning ability to find fault. Can give off WoD (Whiff of Desperation). A vast, bottomless galaxy of loneliness. Educated: to an intimidating degree. Willing to hide this. Prone to tears. Can be needy. Often found Googling ‘having a baby at 40’.* **Age:** *39* **Looking for:** *book reading philanthropist with psychotherapy training who can put up shelves. Can wear glasses (relaxed about this).* **Dislikes:** *most of the fucktards I meet on the internet.’*

DC Davey - naïve, childlike optimism. Pg. 48 Nickname ‘Silver’ after Silver Lining ‘the boy who’s always looking on the bright side. He thinks the world might still come right if he just tries hard enough - which he does, all the time, mentoring at youth centers and looking out for every troubled child who crosses his path.’

DC Davy’s outlook bleeds into his personal relationships - girlfriend Chloe is depicted as ‘face like a slapped arse’ and unsuited to Chloe. However, Manon sees the sense pg. 49 ‘Davy’s at his best when rectifying. He often comes into the office with a carrier bag destined for the youth center where he volunteers - ‘Choccy Weetos for Ryan’, ‘Rex needs socks’ - and the brightness in his eyes tells her how much satisfaction this tenderness gives him. Warming up a frozen, miserable girlfriend is his destiny.’

<u>Overview Chapter Manon, pg 32-52.</u>

Manon seems to respect Harriet for her struggles with policing, Harriet seems somewhat burnout and distress by the work, but suppresses her emotions. Manon, relates and respects her for not depersonalising her work and having empathy for those she meets, however messed up this makes her.

Manon has a very poor view of herself and seems to rely on her work as a way of filling her life emotionally, again seems unable to connect with others on a personal level.

Davy seems to be very much in love with his job and is able to take a lot of self-worth from the work he can do - he works hard to empathise and help others. However, he seems to be displayed as naïve in his outlook.

Chapter Manon, Pg. 58-68.

Manon seems desensitised from what would normally be socially awkward situations/conversations. Possible depersonalisation? Pg. 64 'Farrer smiles at Manon but she has done too many of these interviews to be squeamish'.

Physiological response to emotions driving officers - leading to emotional exhaustion? Indicating that officers will keep going despite being physically depleted, pg. 6 'The adrenalin has swept away Manon's tiredness as she and - Harriet pummel down the stairs towards interview room two..'.

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 58-68.

Manon is suppressing normal emotional reactions and is seen to drive forward beyond normal human functioning on an emotional and physical front.

Chapter Davy pg. 73-77.

Elements of depersonalisation - fascinated by the lives of OTHERS who they investigate, and weary of it - no empathy here for others complicated lives, pg. 74 'It exhausts as well as fascinates him, churning it all up with their big stubby stick. Can't you all just keep it simple he wants to sigh. Can't you keep it buttoned keep your fists out of it, stop drinking, stop shagging? Isn't life complicated enough?'

Davy is portrayed again as showing sympathy - but seems to OTHER the people that he deals with. Pg. 74, ''We were always together, always close, the three of us. I never questioned it. Shows what fool I am.' And Carter laughed in a self-deprecating way, which once again made Davy think, you poor chap.'

Manon is depicted as depersonalised, and insensitive to OTHER's plight, pg. 74 'Manon didn't seem to share his sensitivity. 'Perhaps you did know, Mr Carter?''

Again, Davy is portrayed to the sensitive character against Manon's harsher personality. Almost 'Good Cop, Bad Cop' scenario. Pg. 75 'Christ, Davy thought, give

the man a sodding break.' 'Davy had put a hand on Manon's arm. Andy Davy exhaled, feeling reassured she would not go in and sock him with the Jason Farrer fumble. One infidelity at a time eh.'

Emotions between cops are tense. Shown as unforgiving of others struggles - depersonalised against their own colleagues needs. Pg, 75 'Well, go down there and do it for him,' says Manon. She and Harriet exchange irritable glances.'

Overview Chapter Davy, pg. 73-77.

This shows a lot of depersonalisation from the officers - to their witnesses and to each other. They also 'Other' a lot. There is a lot of judgement of others, and the standards are very subjective to themselves.

Chapter Manon, pg. 78-82.

Depersonalisation of witness/suspect. Pg. 80 ''Every time he speaks, I want it to be over, said Manon, her eyes glazed. 'Yes' said Harriet. 'it's not boring, but it's like you just can't keep your mind on him at all. I found myself thinking about some shopping I have to pick up. Fascinating, isn't it?'

Depersonalisation of members of public in mourning. Pg. 81, 'They scare her, these tragedy tourists, as if they are hungry for catastrophe, a line from the inside of them to the inside of suffering - like a hook inside the cheek of a fish. Manon knows death and she knows it is no reset or journey. *Do not go gentle into that good night.'*

Shows empathy for victims, pg. 81, 'She thinks of Lady Hind's terrified face and realises the pain for relatives of the missing is that there is no clear face to stare into - neither the abyss of death, nor hope, but a ghastly oscillation between the two. If every there was a real purgatory, it's this.'

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 78-82.

There is significant depersonalisation of the people that Manon deals with and the nameless faceless public. There is empathy shown for the victim's mother - also seen as a victim, but she is again seen as a 'type' a 'relative of the missing'. She is categorised and 'othered' once again.

Chapter Manon, pg. 87-93.

Pressure from the DCS adds to the emotional weight on DI Harriet, pg. 93 'His gaze is on Harriet and she bristles with it.'

Chapter Manon, pg. 98-100.

Pressure from the DCS, and disregards for their investigate efforts and emotional response to the situation, implied not stated. Pg. 99, 'His manner had said: 'You've both got a bit over-excited, but now my steadying hand is back on the tiller.'

Manon struggles to find meaning in everyday pursuits outside of her work, pg. 100, 'Awful. I hate it. I mean what's the point of doing something just for the sake of it, when it isn't your job? I even went to a pottery class so I'd have something to type in. But I just couldn't get past the pointlessness of it.'

Chapter Manon, pg. 127-132.

Manon is depicted as beginning to like a criminal, seeing him as a human being and instantly berating herself for this, pg. 130 'God, he's so likeable. Must stop warming to him, immediately.'

Admiration for not doing emotional labour, pg. 134 'You've got to like that bout Kim - she doesn't impose 'the chat'.'

Manon depicted as having suffered childhood trauma and loss, pg. 136 'the door to her mother's bedroom ajar, her fourteen-year-old self, learning on the door frame, seeing the coroner standing over the body in the bed. Ellie was behind her, and she had pushed her sister back, wanting to shield her, knowing if she saw, she would never get it out of her head. The image she had shielded from Ellie: their mother's eyes open, her head on the pillow, her skin purple and mottled where the blood had stopped moving - it had gathered along the base of her like red wine in a tilted glass. Lividity. She knows the word for it now, but she didn't then. 'The black and blue discoloration of the skin of a cadaver, resulting from an accumulation of deoxygenated blood in subcutaneous vessels.'

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 127-132.

Manon is depicted as having normal emotional reactions; warmth, distress but is clearly suppressing these emotions in an active way. Possibly a learnt behaviour from childhood trauma.

Chapter Manon, pg. 145-154.

********SURFACE ACTING ********Manon is depicted as a child as having learnt 'negative resilience' - apparent coping whilst being significantly distressed by the death of her mother. Using school work as a way to avoid dealing with the difficult emotions - drawing the assumption that she has taken this coping mechanism into adult life. Pg. 150 'They appeared to be functioning, did well in exams. Manon was top in her class because work, in comparison with living, was so easy. Reading was an escape. But she and Ellie were not - and she knew this even as a fourteen-year-old - intact, in the way other children were. There was a **surface** and then there was this gulf between it and their **inner lives**, shattered like a broken cup.'

As a child Manon is depicted as using anger as a coping mechanism for expressing other, unexpressed, emotions, when she and her sister chose to hate their new stepmother. Despite her sister building a relationship with her stepmother, Manon chose to be angry with her sister rather than bridge the gap with her step mother, pg. 150 'the willfully immature hating of Una.'

Depersonalisation of Uniform officers by Manon pg. 150, 'She sees the pathologist from Hitchingbrooke, Derry Mackeith, talking to a uniform.'

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 145-154.

Manon is very much depicted as a woman who has suffered significant trauma in her past, and at the time has sought to protect her younger sister from the trauma. She has learnt to cope by suppressing her authentic emotions and presented an outer image for the benefits of adults and society, but has been self-aware enough to recognise that she had an inner hidden self, that went un-recognised and acknowledged. She was also self-aware enough to know that this was not healthy, although a way to cope. Ploughing herself into schoolwork was a way to avoid dealing with her authentic emotions, a coping mechanism that she carried into adult

life, throwing herself into work. There is the suggestion that Manon has not had the opportunity to learn to deal with her emotions as a child, and this spills out into her inability to form lasting adult relationships.

Chapter Davy pg. 156-160.

Davy deals with traumatic incidents through exercise but is depicted struggling with images in his head and relating him to other areas of his life. He is depicted taking on responsibility for individuals' lives, beyond his role and responsibility as an individual. It is also alluded that he cares more about the people he takes responsibility for than other relationships in his life 'married to the job'. Pg. 157 'He pedals harder, away from the images the river conjures, of the body from yesterday - the inflammation of his flesh, his blue-purple colour inhuman. Just a boy. And Davy can't help but think about Ryan - what might happen to him without the protection of Aldridge House. He resolves to put in more calls, see if the social worker can do anything. Davy must try his best to stop Ryan ending up like that boy in the river, because before you know it, it can be too late, and he finds himself in a silent argument with Chole, because she way always saying, 'You love those kids more than me,' and going into a sulk.'

Chapter Manon Pg. 161-166.

Manon is written as having a liking for darker films, pg. 161 'The Swedes are a nation who appreciate morbidity, unlike the British, who are just as depressed as everyone else but who like to project their darker feelings, saying to people in the street, 'Cheer up, it might never happen.' Manon reacts with aggression 'Cat calls like that make her want to take out her Taser'.

Manon describes herself as not liking people but being lonely pg. 164, 'No it isn't. I sometimes think I don't actually like anyone that much. That all I ever want is to be on my own. And then I can't cope with it - with myself, just myself all the time, and it's like I become the worst company of all - and there's this awful realisation that I need people and it's almost humiliating.'

Chapter Manon pg. 167-177.

Manon depicted as lonely through her inability to maintain romantic relationships, again written as childlike, alluding to her emotional immaturity, pg. 168, 'And Manon watches them. Isn't this what she should have? Isn't it what she should want? She knows she comes here, like the third child, to inhale some of it, to slouch in the soft cushioning of the corner armchair where passivity is king.'

Infected eye creates almost a dissociative experience, pg. 'the picture watery, as if she is looking through smeared glass.'

Manon is written as determined in her independence and independence of character pg. 168 'It is the loss of separateness, the dependence which might cause her to meld formlessly into someone else until she no longer knows where she begins and ends, until she is no longer capable of saying, 'you might like that, but I don't like it, because I am different from you, separate from you.' Or 'I will not eat now, I will eat later.'

Harriet displays symptoms of anxiety, pg. 173 'Harriet reaches for her bra strap but her arm stops mid-air and she lays it back in her lap, like a dead thing. Has someone - Elsie? - told her she's a fidget? Still, her foot is going. Kick, kick, kick, as fi the energy must escape from somewhere.'

Depersonalisation of fellow human beings pg. 176 'Never catch their eye.'

<u>Overview Chapter Manon pg. 167-177.</u>

Manon is depicted as viewing the world and its inhabitants from the outside. Separated from the world, looking in as a stranger - unable or unwilling to connect.

<u>Chapter Manon pg. 187-199.</u>

POLICE DEPERSONALISED BY PUBLIC Manon is aware of how 'normal' members of the public that she comes into contact with don't view her as a whole human being, just another representative of the state, pg. 190 'Manon feels curiously invisible, not the first intruder from the state: Kilburn CID, social services, education welfare.'

Manon shows empathy and becomes personally involved in her work pg. 198 ''I want you to keep a tab for that boy over there,' says Manon. 'Give him whatever he wants

to eat, whenever he wants to, and send the bill to me. I can give you card details as surety.' 'Come on, we're going to buy you a coat.'

Davy calls out Manon becoming personally involved by referring to her sudden change in emotional response and empathy as a weakness pg. 199 'When did you turn so soft?'

Chapter Manon pg. 225-229.

Manon delves deeper into why she can't connect or communicate with other human beings on a deeper level, why she can't open up, though she is still confused why, but knows that she can't get close to others. Again, talks of being on the outside, looking in, pg. 229 'She can't communicate ...what/ Something nuanced and complex about why she doesn't want to get involved with him. The way se stand back from the web of interaction because she can't commit to being inside it.'

Manon feels dissociated from herself pg. 229 ''I keep meaning to ring him,' says Manon, and she notices how her voice sounds: slow and dissociated, as if very far away.'

Manon is quick to move to anger as the emotion to express herself, rather than the true emotions that she is experiencing, pg. 229 'Manon has stood up abruptly. She's had enough. 'You fucking go out with him then.'

Chapter Manon pg. 275-278.

SHAME: Manon turned her phone off when she was not on call during a weekend off, Helena committed suicide after trying Manon, pg. 276 'Manon closes her eyes slowly, her body churning as shame begins its slow seep, like blood. The one time. The one time...'

Chapter Manon pg. 282-288.

The officers collectively show the stress of knowing that one of their witnesses killed themselves, and they are examining their consciences, pg. 282 'It travels up her spine in a cold bubble: horror, close to excitement. '"this is a fuck-up," Harriet is saying, pacing. "A massive fucking fuck-up of the first fucking order." Time has slowed,

thickening the air so that Manon can hardly breathe. There is a metallic taste in her mouth like blood.'

Davy pg. 282 'He is sweating, a red patch creeping up his neck.'

Manon pg. 285 'Manon's mind feels along the territory of the things she could have done: deployed protection to Helena's flat as soon as Crimewatch made mention of a female lover; have Davy escort Helena home from Newnham, right then on the Thursday, refusing to take no for an answer; monitored her work phone over the weekend, as she would normally have done, though she wasn't on-call. Four days of neglect, in which Manon did none of these things, for no other reason than she just didn't. Base, looked for pleasures, and Manon's hunger for them at the expense of every other thought. The shame, the shame of it.' 'Had she been on-call, her phones would have been on. She tells herself defiantly, triumphantly, that her weekend was her own, this job does not own her; so she is not lying when she defends herself to Harriet Harper. She is telling a kind of truth.'

Manon is traumatised by the suicide of Helena pg. 286 ''She was ashamed, really ashamed,' she says, and the bubble rises up into her throat and she feels she might cry out. 'She just experimented, that's all, and all of a sudden it was public and the shame of it, the guilt of it-' 'I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be,' she says 'The poem. She was saying she wasn't the lead in her own play.'

Dissociation - Manon again observing mankind from the outside pg. 286 'On the way over, she'd sat in her car in a traffic jam and she'd looked at all the little heads and shoulders in front of their steering wheels. All these people locked in their own thoughts, enmeshed in complicated lives, each of us believing we're at the center.'

When Manon believes that she is in a loving supporting relationship she is open with her partner and identifies the feelings that she associates with her single life, and suppresses them, believing that she has turned a corner, but at the same time acknowledging the pain that she had been in, pg. 286 'she packs her frightened, lonely feelings away.'

Experienced emotions - sorrow and guilt, pg. 287 ‘Her movements are clumsy with the wine, and with her sorrow and guilt.’

Overview Chapter Manon pg. 282-288.

The officers, on learning of Helena’s suicide, are significantly traumatised, each one taking responsibility and seeking to absolve themselves of responsibility. There are physical responses demonstrated and key emotions are shame and guilt. Also, the officers seem isolated in their distress - removing themselves from their colleagues as they anticipate blame. There is no psychological support offered to the officers.

Chapter Davy pg. 293-297.

Davy seems to be changing his life perspective and interactions with others, seemingly as a result of the suicide of Helena and his respondent guilt pg. 293 ‘Manon can suck it up for once.’

Davy is struggling with guilt ‘He woke at 5.30 am, remembering abruptly, as if cut from sleep by the hard steel of his guilt.’

Davy’s struggles with his feelings about his work seem to cause him to distance himself from his girlfriend and have caused him to re-evaluate his feelings for her pg. 293 ‘even a couple of weeks ago he would have been all for it, but now... How little he tells her of the fresh torments in his mind. Yet his distance seems only to fuel her enthusiasm.’

Harriet speaks to Manon in front of the office about having her phoned turned off over the weekend. Manon is visibly distressed by the implication that this was the cause of Helena’s suicide. However, Harriet seems completely unsympathetic to her distress, and seems to make it clear that this is a form of punishment - almost a public shaming. The inferred message here is - you don’t have a life outside of the job, and your tears are not relevant here. There is no consideration of making sure that Manon is alright when she leaves the room, pg. 295 ‘You might want to be married to this job, Harriet, but I don’t. Anyway, I told you, the signal can be a big dodgy in my flat; on and off you know? I know you weren’t on-call, and this isn’t part of any official investigation, says Harriet, I’m just asking you. You know, what the fuck,

Manon? That's right, it's my fault, says Manon in a swell of tears, and Davy and Harriet watch her make for the double doors, almost at a run.'

Davy tries to tell Chloe what he is struggling with pg. 296 'He's been attempting to explain about work, how much it's a part of how he sees himself. He's trying to describe their duty of care to Helena Reed and how they'd failed her, and how he couldn't get it off his mind. They'd ticked the boxes they were supposed to tick, so why does he feel so bad? Some part of him is taking umbrage already at the criticism that's heaped on the as officers - always the question of what they could have done better, faster, with immaculate paperwork and utmost sensitivity; what they should learn from what they've got wrong. That person on the night team, DC Monique Moynihan, will probably lose her job, and maybe that's right. But all the while it feels like a war they're fighting, without enough resources. They were only doing their job.'

Chloe responds to Davy by complaining that he is never present in the moment - somewhere else when he is with her pg. 297 'Your mind's always on other things: poor Helena Reed, poor Ryan, isn't Manon the genius. You're never here, in the moment.'

<u>Overview Chapter Davy pg. 293-297.</u>

This chapter again shows the distress of the officers and them further isolating themselves from the people around them as they try to grapple with their feelings. The lack of care for each other's feelings is no more stark than when Harriet 'calls out' Manon, and she is visibly distressed. This chapter seems to show how difficult the officers find their work, but how little their individual feelings are valued or cared for.

<u>Chapter Manon pg. 298-301.</u>

Manon wants to speak to her father about her distress but is unable to express her feelings. In her thoughts she also grapples with understanding her own feelings, though she recognises that her feelings are interfering with her perspective of what has happened. She also understands that she has a negative view of herself, and

wants to tell her father, believing that he will see a better version of her, that she still hangs onto as a possible reality, despite her distress. She is desperate for an adult, paternal reassurance pg. 299 'She things to tell him the truth about Helena Reed, if only she could grasp where the truth begins and ends, how far her guilt seeps into the corners of it, because he would understand, would believe in her better self.'

Chapter Davy pg. 309-319.

Davy shows what could be anxiety, or certainly tension pg. 309 'a hand in his trouser pocket jangling his keys.'

Davy is annoyed with Manon's apparent change in mental state, from sad to happy. This section also highlights Manon's apparent previous typical behaviour which indicates distress and sadness pg. 309 'No more crying in the car park; no more laying her forehead on the steering wheel; no more snatching the lattes from his hand or wiping away smears of mascara.'

Davy is depicted as sensing failure for the team and frustration pg. 309 'A girl has been missing for more than a month; another is dead. They haven't done their job, thinks Davy, and everything is at odds.'

It is Davy's turn to be lonely and he is confused as to how he feels, although he recognises that the suicide of Helena Reed has changed him as a person pg. 311 'Perhaps he misses the chap he was before Helena Reed died.'

Davy eventually opens up to a senior officer - with a surprising response, though the words of wisdom tell the reader that police work will dehumanise you if not careful pg. 314 'so he looked Stanton in the eye and told him how rotten he felt about Helena Reed, and how responsible. Stanton licked the foam off his upper lip and said, if you can keep those feelings, Davy lad, - and let me tell you, every minute in the police will chip away at them - but if you can hold onto those human feelings, you might just make a good copper.'

Overview Chapter Davy pg. 293-297.

Davy is depicted as struggling with intense feelings which are affecting his private life, and his relationship with his colleagues. He senses that he has changed. The reader is told that police work makes you unfeeling.

Chapter Manon pg. 318-323.

Manon talks of recognising the difference between the inner and outer self, pg. In body, perhaps, but not in spirit. Manon knows what lies beneath; how people can seem normal and yet grief swirls about like an unseen tide working against the currents of life, the mourner wrong-footed but its undertow. The bereaved should wear signs, she things, saying: *Grief in progress* - for at least a couple of hours.'

Chapter Manon pg. 324-325.

Manon shows signs of distress, perhaps PTSD pg. 324 'After a bad night, her emotions are as ragged as the Alps. Fitful sleep, wishful dreams, ended by waking to a vision of Helena Reed's body handing from the back of her bedroom.'

Chapter Manon pg. 328-333.

Manon is depicted as using alcohol as coping, numbing her emotions, pg. 331 'She thinks life is best passed in a blur: imprecise and anaesthetised from the sharper feelings. She is drowning as the gin engulfs her, swaying on the spot, the room spinning, the music pumping in time with the blood in her arteries. She can feel the beat through the soles of her feet.'

Chapter Manon pg. 334-341.

Manon is desperate as her life seems to fall apart, with the suicide of Helena central to her distress, pg. 334 'If there was only something left: a relationship gone wrong but her work intact; her work compromised but love still offering a future. Instead, it is a desolate landscape, the death of Helena Reed at its center like a crucifixion, her head to one side. While she was with him, she could tell herself that dereliction of duty had been in aid of something; she hadn't wanted to be married to the job. Now, even the job won't have her.

Chapter Manon pg. 342-346.

Davy cruelly identifies Manon's inability to maintain a romantic relationship, insensitive to her struggles - depersonalisation? Pg. 346 'I heard a dog makes unhappy people happy. They're good, y'know, for people who can't form proper relationships.'

Chapter Manon pg. 347-352.

Manon shows a great deal of empathy for a convicted criminal in the justice system pg. 'In another confiscated letter, he writes: *I keep my head down. I don't talk to nobody. My personality's out there somewhere, waiting for me to grasp it when I'm out.* On the same page is a note: *Prisoner reading* Jude the Obscure *by Thomas Hardy. Material confiscated: violent themes.* Manon wipes the tears from her cheeks. Along come Edith Hind: listening to him, trying to understand him. Asking how his day was, how his life was, what his plans might be, and whether she could help him. She must've been the first person to treat him like a human being in fifteen years. Even the words, 'Hello, Tony, how are you?' must've been like a long drink to a man dying of thirst.'

Chapter Manon pg. 353-359.

Police officers' depersonalisation towards each other - lack of empathy or sympathy. Manon is desperately upset in the toilets and is sobbing. Kim comes out of the toilet and nothing is said between the two officers, Manon's emotions are not acknowledged, pg. 355 'It is impossible to be Manon Bradshaw. Everything is broken and she starts to cry, as Kim emerges from her cubicle to the sounds of a fulsome flush. Did Kim hear the word 'unimaginative' at Cromwell's on Friday? Or is Manon blanching just at the thought? They nod at each other silently, neither mentioning Manon's tears nor her outburst in the bar.'

Appendix L: Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse of Secondary Data.

SKAD Triple 9

Initial coding of secondary data: 'Triple 9'.

Corruption. Value Dissonance. Opening sequence shows police officers involved in a heist that involves civilian fatalities, firearms and explosives. They are not undercover, they are criminals. They are living dual lives. Take calls from criminal colleagues at police station.

One bad cop is paired with a good cop - new to the division.

Depersonalisation. The heist is reported as having being committed by criminals that spoke Spanish - therefore the police consider the Hispanic community as suspects. There are disparaging comments made about this community, a strong sense of 'othering'.

One of the criminals is mutilated and another performs a mercy killing in front of the cops. There is little in the way of emotional reaction. Maybe shock.

Dissociation. Police (good and bad) turn up at scene of gang land murder and beheading. Heads are on the bonnet of a car. There is use of humour 'you be careful, you don't want to get your suit dirty' 'I'm not worried, I have two'. They are not engaging with the horror of the situation - and focus on something else, and use humour to express themselves. There is a lot of posturing - quite macho. Boldly walking across police lines, almost a swagger - challenging, passive aggressive.

On identifying the heads on the car bonnet the conversation again is depersonalising 'I don't know what the fuck they would be doing over here' 'probably looking for their bodies'. Again use of crude humour. Unfeeling, not other emotional response depicted.

Aggression. When the good cop makes an arrest for public disorder at the beheading scene the bad cop takes a disliking to his actions. He takes him into a nearby petrol

garage for a ‘word’ and aggressively shows the shop worker his badge and tells him to go for a smoke, locking the door behind him. He shows no need to regulate his feelings of anger to members of the public.

Devaluing of colleagues. Bad cop goes on to ‘explain’ to good cop why the arrest was a bad arrest and an over-reaction on his part. Asks ‘did he hurt your feelings?’ Explains ‘this is the fucking streets that’s what people do’. De-values the good cop’s feelings in the situation. ‘Get out of school’. There is an implication that good cop hasn’t toughened up. ‘This ain’t no fucking game Chris, the rules around here are different’ ‘so you better learn fast’. Good cop defends himself and seeks to leave the garage - tries to get out of the door, bad cop explains ‘unlock the door, stupid’. Bullying behaviour and power play.

Depersonalisation. The bad cops come up with a plan to distract the police and this is the ‘triple 9 call’ which is code for a cop down. The plan is that they kill a cop as a way to distract the police district so they can carry out their next job. The bad cop comes up with the idea and relays the idea, without emotion, to the other criminals in the gang. The death of another cop is seen as merely as a means to an end. Again no emotions are shown.

Bad cop one calls bad cop two out, states that he needs to find another way. Bad cop two debates what the difference is between killing a civilian and a cop. There is some loyalty and emotion shown, particularly as the audience discover that they are talking about killing the good cop, Bad cop one’s partner.

Depersonalisation. Bad cop two states that every cop that goes to a cop funeral is thinking ‘better him than me’. Bad cop two shows no emotional response to killing a cop and offers to do the job ‘I’ll do it, I don’t have a problem taking out a cop’.

Good cop meets up with his Uncle, who is a detective Sgt. He is shown at home with the family, playing with good cop’s kid, his Nephew. All is well. They he goes out for a beer, just Good cop and his Uncle, then they talk about the job.

Lack of PA. Good cop states that he wants to make a difference, but Uncle states that he needs to get that idea out of his head that he needs to 'out master the monster and get home at the end of the night.' Also depersonalisation - 'the monster'.

Aggression. Uncle decides to start a fight with innocent bystanders in a bar - alcohol abuse.

Family and Society. Good cop back at home with his wife. She accuses him of sulking, infantilising his behaviour. She is not sympathetic and reminds him that he wanted the job. She is wearing an oversized US Marine Corps T shirt. He explains that his partner is an asshole. Wife says 'since when does my tough guy let anyone get to him.' 'Now stop feeling so sorry for yourself.'

Value Dissonance. Uncle is out looking for leads and speaks to an informant 'Sweet Pea'. He pays for information, but at the same time smokes a joint with his informant.

Aggression. A warrant is issued in relation to the severed heads. A team is sent out to pick up the subject of the warrant. It is apparent that they are expecting violence, they are teamed up in an armoured van, with accompanying patrol cars. The mood in the back of the van in tense, the officers are wearing green military boy armour. Bad cop one reads the information on the subject and screws up the paper and throws it. The officers seem to be pumping themselves up to meet the violence that they are expecting.

After a shoot-out and a foot pursuit good cop and bad cop one get split up, good cop catches up with bad cop one where he finds that he is fighting with the subject who is trying to shoot him. Good cop executes the subject, saving bad cop one's life. Nothing is said between the cops, but bad cop one puts two bullets in the subject's body, post mortem. The subsequent investigation into the shooting is shown, with the good cop and bad cop one being interviewed separately, but no words are spoken. Symbolically it is just silence.

Later good cop and bad cop two are shown having a beer, and discussing the events of the day before (shooting of subject). Bad cop two states he can't remember anything, and good cop tells him it is a stress reaction. They are both slightly drunk.

Depersonalisation, Maladaptive Coping. Police unit night out at stripe club. Drinking shots with bullets in, dancing with girls (paid for). 'Male' bonding, objectifying women.

Value Dissonance. Corruption. Uncle pulls criminal for drugs - then takes drugs, whilst pumping criminal for information in exchange for busting her for the drugs.

Uncle finds that criminal from gang is sat outside good cops house and calls all units to, and responds himself. Sign of emotional response - protecting family. No other display of emotion other than concern.

Bad cop two demands that one of the criminal's silences one of the others. Bad cop two is ruthless and shows no emotional response.

Bad cop one is shown as displaying remorse (staring at himself in the mirror) prior to the shooting of his partner. Bad cop two shows no remorse, and almost treats the plan as a game.

When good cop and bad cop one are in the housing project and bad cop one is waiting to kill his partner he is shown as emotional, and having doubts. However, he still goes to kill him.

Uncle responds to good cops triple 9 call. The call to the heist in progress goes out. Uncle continues to triple 9 call.

Bad cop two is shown as completing the heist and then going to the triple 9 as a murder detective. No emotion. Very calm, despite being wounded, and seeing that good cop is still alive.

Uncle's home depicts a chaotic life style of drug and alcohol abuse. Uncle is half naked asleep upright in his chair during the day with a bottle between his legs. Everywhere there are empty bottles and drugs paraphernalia. Good cop is visiting him to tell him that he suspects bad cop one tried to get him killed and that another

cop is in on it. No emotion shown, Uncle responds by clinically analysing the situation as good cop calmly presents his theory.

Uncle is in back of bad cop two's car, waiting to shoot him. He shoots and kills him and is hit himself. No words are spoken, no emotion is shown. The viewer is left wondering what motivates Uncle. Why he was happy to sacrifice himself.

Secondary Analysis:

Set in Atlanta United States Triple 9 begins with an armed bank robbery. The offenders are two police officers (Marcus and Jorge), one ex-officer (Gabe) and his brother (Russell) and the instigator (Mike). The robbery is being carried out on behalf of a Russian matriarch (Irina) who is the sister in law of Mike and holds control over Mike's access to his son.

After the robbery Marcus and Jorge return to duty in separate departments. It is at this point that newbie cop (Chris) joins the team and is teamed up with Marcus. Marcus and Chris's team are charged with locating the offenders involved in the Robbery.

Chris is a fairly new officer who has moved onto the downtown department, he is the nephew of Sgt Det. Jeffrey Allen. Chris has a wife and small child and appears happy at home; he is keen to make a difference on the streets and has a strong moral compass.

Sgt Det. Jeffrey Allen is a long-time cop who has his own vices and blurs the lines of criminality but is not wholly corrupt. He has no close family to speak of other than Chris, he lives on his own and is an addict. He is well respected in the department.

After the robbery Irina sets the team another job – to rob homelands security. Mike is unhappy with this so as a sign of intent Russell is brutalised, and Mike ends up killing him as an act of mercy.

The remained of the team concoct a plan to have Marcus killed by a known gangster in order to create a 'triple 9' situation, that will distract all the cops in the district allowing the team to carry out the heist on homelands.

Gabe is not happy about this, he seeks to warn Chris, but this results in drawing Jeffrey's attention to Gabe and his connection with Marcus. In turn Mike threatens Gabe's girlfriend to make him go to ground.

At the scene of the 'arranged' triple 9 Gabe turns up and tries to warn Chris but ends up being killed by Marcus after shooting Marcus in the head. However, this still results in the triple 9 – but called in my Chris.

At the same time the heist at homelands security goes ahead, armed officers are deployed but the remained of the team (Mike and Jorge) make their escape, but both are injured. Jorge turns up at the scene of the triple 9. Jeffrey turns up at the triple 9 and his cop instinct tells him that something is wrong.

Jorge decides that Gabe's girlfriend is a risk and he kills her – then is the first attending officer turning up at the scene – successfully covering her tracks. However, it is this last act that convinces Jeffrey that he is involved in the robberies.

Meanwhile, Mike has a meeting with Irina and plants a bomb in her car – killing her and her security. He is making off with the money for the team when he is stopped by Jorge, who kills him and takes the money.

Jorge then finds Chris, who he realises is also onto him, with a view to kill him, but Jeffrey gets to Jorge first and kills, him, but not without getting mortally wounded himself.

<u>Interpretative Schemes</u>

A lot of cops are corrupt.

Macho competitive culture, there is a deriding attitude to colleagues, particularly newcomers.

Female police officers are few and far between and don't leave the station.

Cops deal with the underside of humanity, the things that other people wouldn't want to and don't see.

Being able to communicate with criminals in their language is a sign of being a good cop.

Cop are aggressive with each other and quick to judge how each other works, believing that they are always right.

Lines are blurred between good and bad – low level criminality seems acceptable if it catches the big fig – how do officers square this with themselves?

There is a lot adrenaline in police work due to the high levels of danger and violence.

Cope are comfortable using a high level of violence.

Family is everything.

Cops lives outside of work are chaotic.

In general cops have a loyalty to other cops. Even an ex-cop (Gabe) seeks to protect a cop at risk – despite the risk (and ultimate demise) to their own lives.

Positivity and a desire to help is a sign of naivety.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Wide boy detective.

Macho culture.

Good cop, bad cop.

Police work is dangerous.

Police officer's downtown are men.

Coppers nose.

Boy scout.

Cops look after cops.

Phenomenal Structures

Cops are loners and don't want to work with other cops, they don't trust anyone – including their colleagues.

Cops are committed to their work and obsessed with catching the bad guys, they work late and often have little else in their lives.

Cops deal with high levels of violence and are not emotionally moved by it, humour is often used in the presence of extreme violence and suffering.

Cops are so used to death and seeing their colleagues die that they are operating under a threat response and are primed for survival – and very little else. There is no compassion for each other or anyone else.

Alcohol addiction is typical as coping.

Police work absorbs cops – can't sleep, thinking about job, effects relationships.

The only time that cops open up to each other on any level is when they are in a bar having a drink after a significant event/intense job.

Aggression is the main expressed emotion.

Officers believe in their own sixth sense.

Cops will give up their lives for family.

Naive cop/boy scout (Chris) is still 'wanting to make a difference' and is not yet jaded by the job. He also has his family intact. This is in comparison to wide boy detective (Jeff - Naive cops uncle) he has no family, has a chaotic lifestyle fuelled by drink and drugs. He is seen not going to bed, but sleeping in a chair in a drugged/drunken stupor. However, he solves the case but ultimately risks his life to protect his nephew. This sends the message that the experience of being a cop makes you better at your job, and worldly wise, but will also lead to the disintegration of your family and the use of maladaptive coping techniques.

<u>Narratives Structures</u>

Interesting conversation about dissociation and the amygdala – 'I can't remember one shot from yesterday… survival stress reaction, chemicals flood your brain, before the brain stops working the amygdala fires up and you just… I didn't see him coming, he just came out of no-where. That could happen to anyone...'

SKAD Happy Valley, Series 2, Episode 4.

Initial Coding of Secondary Data: Happy Valley, Series 2, Episode 4.

Officer on duty 24 hrs. Implies not life outside of policing. PS off duty, goes to take a rape report off a prostitute (answers call at home, off duty, comes out during middle of night). Take notes on 'back of a fag packet'. Is clearly pissed off that the original attending officers haven't taken a statement.

Back at station PS berates officers for not taking statement. Is clearly angry. Shoots first, asks questions later. Loses temper. Refers to officers as 'hobby bobbies'. Degrading and depersonalising.

PS goes home for hour to see grandson for birthday then back on early turn.

PS gets in car and cries.

Gets home, but doesn't talk about work, despite being asked. States 'it's complicated'.

PS shown as stoic in face of tragic circumstances (loss of daughter, Grandson's birthday - difficult time). States 'we'll get through it' 'big smiles'.

Seems that true emotions (crying in car) are hidden from family - 'big smiles'.

Scene: briefing for investigation into rape (linked to murders). Everyone sat and stood round table. Not a cup of tea in sight. Everyone clean and pressed. List of actions reeled off. DCS asks DC why victim has number in her phone - very cool, asked in corridor as leaving briefing. DC is a little ruffled but gives answer. DCS then asks DC if everything is alright at home - DC replies okay 'you know, slings and arrows'. DCS then states 'the door is always open', then follows this offer of help with 'except when it is closed'. A kind of cruelty.

Depersonalisation. Insp discussing a death which the PS and PCSO had recently dealt with - states name then 'death of' then says 'they're treating it as murder, not suicide'. Conversation held in passing in corridor.

Officers go to arrest young lad 'Ryan' for assault. They enter the family home, and mum asks a lot of questions, however, the officers ignore mum and speak with Ryan.

Normally, people wouldn't be comfortable ignoring a person in their own home. No sympathy is shown for Ryan, despite having been a victim, and being a vulnerable adult with learning difficulties. Mum's feelings are dismissed in the situation. Also, mum offers to go to the police station to assist (appropriate adult) but again she is told not to bother and that she would just be hanging around. No offer of support.

DI in custody block further arrests a prisoner already on rape charge for murder. Prisoner emotionally disputes his involvement, over talking the DI. DI shows no emotion and is robotic in talking through the process. Devoid of emotion.

PS is asked to help with the taking of DNA from Ryan, who is resisting. Ryan is clearly upset, and unhappy that the bullies (that he has been arrested for assaulting) have been allowed to walk free whilst charged with assaulting him. PS is very firm and unsympathetic to the position Ryan has got himself in, but is also kind to him and humanises him by talking to him as if he matters and she understands his situation. But is still very matter of fact, as if she is not emotionally affected.

PS goes home and finds out that a present to her Grandson is from her daughter's killer and she acts very emotionally, with anger and distress.

Interview of Rape/Murder suspect by DI and DC. No emotion shown other than mild frustration at the prepared statement and 'no comment' answer. Depersonalisation of suspect.

PS regrets her emotionally charged reaction to the present to her Grandson, and reconsiders what her actions could have been. She seems tearful and emotionally exhausted.

DCS briefing update, no alibies and forensic evidence. No interaction between the officers, no emotional reaction to investigation, no consideration of motive or emotional angle of suspect/offender. Almost two dimensional. No tea. Actions are just a shopping list. No driving of investigation and motivation to obtain evidence - bad portrayal of investigative work. Police officers depicted as void of emotion, and personalities.

PS goes to Insp to ask for present to be finger printed. She asks him if she is over reacting - which he reassures her she is not, however when she starts to tell him what a bad week she is having he closes her down, talking over her saying 'I know, I know, I do know..' until she leaves the office.

(Theme - supervisors closing officers down when looking for personal support).

Conversation in car between DI, DC and DCS about murder suspect, questioning whether suspect had capability to be forensically aware. DCS depersonalises suspect by saying 'a low little twisted mind like that has probably absorbed every episode of CSI shown'.

PS meets father of PCSO in café and discusses daughter's drinking problem - he is concerned that there is something wrong. PS is very calm and matter of face, suggests that she needs a good night out, but agrees to talk to her. Again, non-emotional - but dealing with all problems of town, not just the work that she is assigned to.

DC is thrown out of his house by his wife - we don't know why, but another failed marriage.

PS never smiles.

PS apologises to grandson that she gets wound up about stuff.

Secondary Analysis:

Uniformed Sgt Catherine Cawood is a divorced middle-aged woman, she cares for her grandson as her daughter is dead. Catherine is called out in the middle of the nigh, whilst off duty. This is a personal call which results in her interviewing (written on the inside of a ripped-up fag packet) a prostitute who has survived being attacked by Sean Balmforth, who is subsequently arrested and charged as being the serial killer the division have been investigating. However, this is after she has dressed down the two special constables who are on night duty and first attended and dismissed the complaint. Catherine is seen as mopping up their mess. Vulnerable young farmer Daryl Garrs is also taken in for hitting out at the thugs who stole his mother's sheep, Catherine is called in to calm him down and take his DN as she has

a rapport with him. Catherine is shocked when, on grandson Ryan's birthday, he receives a lavish present, purportedly from his father Royce, which allows Drummond (Royce's accomplice) to suggest to the boy that he is anxious for forgiveness. In fact, Royce wants a more direct revenge. This is all during the anniversary of Catherine's daughter's suicide, which was a result of Royce raping her daughter – which resulted in Ryan.

Interpretative Schemes

Sacrifice everything for the job.

Clear up others poor work – high standards.

Takes responsibility outside of role requirements.

Never off duty.

Personal relationships are dysfunctional.

Single Life.

Protector of the vulnerable –this is a passion.

Take responsibility for others.

The one that everyone turns to.

Matter of fact. Not warm – although caring, do not express compassion (taking of DNA).

Detectives are cold and non emotional.

Focusing on trying to catch a criminal makes officers forget the emotional side of crime.

Police officers can't maintain functional relationships (Sgt is divorced, DC gets kicked out of family home).

Alcohol used as coping.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Married to the job.

Puts everyone else first, self-second.

Known to be available to community off duty.

Champion of the vulnerable.

Depersonalised briefings.

'job pissed' – bobby who is hard working and keen.

Cold detectives.

Phenomenal Structures

Cars are a safe place to express emotions.

Anger replaces frustration, sadness and distress.

Mixing of work with home life – wearing uniform as Grandson opens birthday presents in kitchen.

Briefings are none emotional, very matter of fact environments. No feelings expressed in relation to violent crime. Not a place for expression or displaying emotions.

Non emotional response to emotional stimuli – murder of known member of community.

Non emotional response to emotional stimuli – aggression of prisoner.

Compassion cannot be shown to criminals as it would compromise police impartiality.

Lines between work and home life blurred.

Narratives Structures

Hide true emotions for others – 'big smiles'.

There is no emotional vocabulary. Sgt trying to express emotions 'it's just this week…' when referring to the anniversary of the suicide of her daughter. The Inspector's response is nothing more than 'I know, I know..' stopping her in mid-sentence and closing down the conversation. This is not a conversation that is never going to be had – and there seems to be no acceptable language with which to have it.

Boss asks subordinate about private life – but doesn't follow answer up with further questions – makes light of situation and walks off. Is this a warning about behaviour 'is everything alright?' inferring – you are not performing very well.

Police work is about problem solving – and victims and offenders are seen as parts of a puzzle, with the emotion stripped away – depersonalised.

SKAD Traffic Cops Season 14 Episode 4: 'In the pursuit of crime'.
Initial Coding of Secondary Data: Traffic Cops Series 14 Episode 4.

Depicted as life and death role. Depersonalised decision making in life or death pursuit decisions. Emotions are not shown (supressed) and not considered within the decision making process - ie how do they effect decision making and should this be accounted for?

Sgt dealing with fail to stop RTI very calm and procedural. Speaks to driver who is pinned in car and awaiting transport to hospital. Very matter of fact, no emotion, empathy or sympathy. Calm analysis of scene. As air ambulance is called away and waiting for ambulance Sgt looks in boot of offending vehicle and finds suspect goods.. Sgt quickly moves on from concern for driver to investigation of potential crime (whilst waiting for ambulance).

'Dizzy Driver' slang for disqualified driver. Depersonalisation for crime. Cat and mouse situation. Disqualified drivers are not driving, but have told police that they are intending to walk. Officers don't believe so sit up on drivers. Driver make off in vehicle, pursuit ensues - air support and other traffic cops respond. Calm reactions from officers - emotional suppression.

Officers talking of high adrenaline levels balanced with the need to keep calm and not cause a collision. Officer is observed stopping the vehicle and dealing with the suspect. Officer is calm but very controlling of the situation - he is very quick to move to take the vehicle keys out of the ignition before he has spoken to the driver. Suspect adrenaline is having an affect despite the officer trying to supress his anxiety and stress experienced as a product of the pursuit.

Dizzy Driver decamp passenger of traffic vehicle heard to say as getting out of car 'I'm having him' and runs off in direction of car. Driver of traffic vehicle tackles passenger, who is aggressive towards cops, cop responds calmly but decisively. Passenger is abusive to officers, but officers do not respond. Emotional suppression. Non emotional.

Suspect burglar brought into custody and given mental health assessment. Again, a dispassionate response from officers. Very procedural way of dealing with potential mental health issues.

Despite pursuit and catch and mouse games, police are very matter of fact about incidents that occur.

Officers explain to victim of burglary that they can't pursue a charge. Sympathetic to situation and patient in explaining reasons. However, do not allow own feelings to be expressed.

Focus on collisions and danger.

Traffic officer being interviewed is honest about the distress that he experiences as a result of some of the incidents that he attends. Dispassionately.

Attend RTI vehicle in middle of Harrogate Stray - humour about placement of vehicle before assessing whether there are any casualties or fatalities. Dealing with female driver who caused the crash, who is visibly shaken and upset. Dealt with sympathetically. However, when being interviewed later the same officer states that he doesn't believe that this was just one of those things accident, but that she wasn't paying enough attention so is clearly not sympathetic towards her, despite what he may have displayed at the scene. When officers check the victim's vehicle, they find

that his tyres are below the legal limit - and they summons him as a result. No room for sympathy, or discretion.

Officers attending Domestic Incident. Officer explains that he waits for back up before entering the address. Stating that he stands a better chance if he is with a colleague if there is someone in the property waiting for him. No emotional indicators or descriptive given. Officer states that part of him would rather stay with the victim and talk to her but he knows that he needs to go and search for the suspect. Shows some empathy for victim. States that no one should be that scared.

Officer stops driver who was using his mobile phone and didn't have his seat belt on. Driver is very anti police and argumentative. Officer remains calm. No emotional response, level voice. Despite admitting in later interview that he feels the driver is making him out to be a liar, which he finds really annoying. The officer shows no emotion or sympathy for the driver, at the time of the stop or in the subsequent interview, when he says that the prosecution will lose him his job. This is not seen to resonate with the officer.

Secondary Analysis:

Following North Yorkshire Road Policing and pursuits for disqualified drivers and burglars, both causing danger on the roads. Police vehicles are used tactically to box offending vehicles resulting in one crash.

One fail to stop after a shop lifting ends in a crash and injury to the driver, with the crash investigate first.

One burglary is a result in confusion and illness, where another is a result of domestic violence and substance abuse.

There are a number of high-speed pursuits, dangerous and violent offenders, and compassion for both victims and some offenders, but also impartiality. There is a significant display of power within the public domain and an 'othering' of members of the public, whether offenders, victims, witnesses or innocent by-standers.

<u>Interpretative Schemes</u>

Dangerous and exciting job.

Cops are adrenaline junkies.

Life or death decision making.

Crime is taken personally (come over to us to steal our nice cars, he has damaged my police car, which is a vehicle I use every day)

Members of the public don't understand police work. (stop annoying members of the public but examine the scene).

Compassion for victims, relate to victims. Relate to injustice of being a victim of crime.

Protectors of the vulnerable.

Paternalistic attitude to members of the public, whether victims or offenders.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Stupid criminal.

Dizzy Drivers. (depersonalisation)

Cat and Mouse.

Phenomenal Structures

Car chases are exciting, officers are calm.

Them and us.

Police are under constant scrutiny.

Use of 'police language' 'the pooch' 'giving it legs' 'he's in bracelets'

Danger of injury is an inevitable aspect of the job.

Narratives Structures

Offenders are seen as part of daily routine – they go to work (out all-night grafting) and the police are their 'occupational hazard'. Almost humanises offenders and their lifestyles.

Parent child response – officer controlling but not aggressive. Stops vehicle suspected of burglary 'how you doing there?'

'I'm havin' him' adrenaline, aggression and excitement.

Compassion shown for suspected burglar.

'To catch a criminal you have got to think like a criminal. You have got think, if I were this particular individual, what would I do?' What if..

Emotional openness – 'it can be quite upsetting, you know, and I am getting on in my years now and I think I have seen most things, but it can be quite distressing, dealing with death particularly.'

Compassion shown to suspects of both burglary and RTC 'don't lose any sleep over it.' But at same time officer loses no sleep over doing innocent taxi driver for bald tires.

SKAD Missing Presumed.

Initial Coding of Missing Presumed.

Phase 1. Familiarization.

First read of book conducted between: 30th October 2017 - 13th November 2017. Initial notes made in text. Second read notes made below:

<u>Chapter Manon Pg. 1-7.</u>

DS in social situation (date) picks up on finger prints on glass - compares to crime scene information. Pg. 1. 'the kind of oval spiral they dream of finding at a crime scene'. Pg. 2 leaving bad first date 'as if fleeing the scent of decomposing death. Every officer of the Major Incident Team knew that smell, the way it stuck to your clothes.'

DS described as emotionally immature pg. 5 'People who know her - well, Bryony mainly - disapprove of her emotional 'immaturity''.

DS described as childless woman, pg. 6 ‘Nature doesn’t know what to do with a childless woman of thirty-nine, except throw her that fertility curve ball’.

DS described as insomniac who listens to a police radio to get to sleep, pg. 7 ‘It is the method by which she overcomes insomnia. Some rely on the shipping forecast; Manon prefers low murmurings about road traffic accidents or drunken altercations outside Level 2 Nightclub on All Saints Passage, all of which she can safely ignore because they are far too lowly for the Major Incident Team.’ DS sees policing as comforting - reassuring of human kindness and protection, pg. 7 ‘It is human kindness in action, protecting the good against the bad’.

<u>Overview Chapter Manon Pg. 1-7.</u>

DS depicted as being ‘married to the job’ - always thinking about police work and relating events in private life to police work. Being unemotionally able to engage with others on an intimate level, and therefore able to sustain a relationship. Possible depersonalisation of ‘others’ (non-officers) and possible low level mental health issues (insomnia).

<u>Chapter Davy Pg. 26-31.</u>

DC Davy describes DS Manon as grumpy, ‘pissed-off’ is normal, old and single - particularly described as ‘lonely’. Described as crying in toilets and hiding her emotions. Pg. 27 ‘She must be at least thirty-nine, the loneliness rising off her like a mist’. ‘He’s seen Manon, more than once, red-eyed coming out of the second floor toilets and his heart goes out to her on those occasions, watching her hurriedly wipe the snot away and try to act normal. Well, pissed off, which is normal’.

DS depersonalises victims and shows contempt and othering for press. Pg. 28 ‘Nothing like a festive stiff to warm the cockles of your front page.’

DC Davy great pride in his work, very much lives his job, wants to be seen in the role of Detective Constable. Pg. 29 ‘For Davy, climbing these steps with an important job to do makes him inflate with pride and elation. He wishes someone could see him...’ ‘What he was so proud of - was the electronic notice board announcing the life and death work going on here..’ ‘So much sexier than the jobs he could have had...’

DC Davy see's the true humanity in his work. Pg. 29 'Human stories, base and sexual. The police operated in the seedy low light: drug runs, burglars in botched stick-ups, murderers who said they were nowhere near the scene but...'.

Viewed from outside (from girl-friend) as a bit childish in his love for the job Pg. 30 'You've really drunk the Kool-Aid, haven't you?'

Overview Chapter Davy Pg. 26-31.

DS is viewed as closed, removed and lonely - though hiding deeper, distressed emotions. DS disparaging remarks of press depersonalising victims. Generally deeply unhappy.

DC almost childlike in love for job, very vocational, believes he is doing something important with his life, that other jobs wouldn't provide. Chooses not to 'judge' others. Almost likes to think of himself as untouched by the job - not hardened or desensitised.

Chapter Manon Pg. 32-52.

DS Manon observes DI Harriet in action, very action based language, pg. 35 'She's full of fire, unbridled' 'Once Polsa's on board, the pressure will ease off a bit.' Though also depersonalised: 'Yup. I'll go and talk to the parents. Urgh, this is the bit I hate - they'll be frantic. Then I'm meeting Fergus in the press office.' DI Harriet quickly moves on - task orientated.

Shows respect for DI Harriet's commanding and driven attitude 'If Manon ever went missing, she'd want Harriet to head up the search.'

DI Harriet displaying stress Pg. 41 'Don't say anything,' hisses Harriet, like an angry swan. 'Don't fucking say anything until we're in my fucking office.' 'Right, I've thought of a name for this case. We're calling it Operation Career Fucking Suicide.' Depersonalises victim when under pressure from a personal perspective (not helping her focus on the work). DEPERSONILSATION

Pg. 42 open observation: 'This was the nightmare of being SIO: the pressure from every quarter, having to make decisions about which lines to investigate in what

order of priority, trying to work out which information is important and which can be discarded, and all those decisions being scrutinised from above and often from outside.' EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION

DI Harriet is depicted as emotional - feeling the work that she does, connecting with victims, and this is viewed as good in the eyes of DS Manon, even though it means that Harriet maybe not coping with this. Pg. 43 'When Manon next saw her, she was leaning against a panda car, smoking a cigarette, looking furious and tearful at the same time. This is what Manon likes most about Harriet - no, not likes, understands: she isn't on an even keel. She feels the work in every fibre and it hurts her'. EMOTIONAL EXHAUSTION

Observations of police officers' thoughts of the job pg. 43: 'Manon knows that Harriet, and most of their colleagues, cleave to the view that criminals either get off or get off lightly; that the system is stacked against the police. She's aware that if police officers were allowed to draw up the legislation, it would probably contain the words *'and throw away the key'*. What worries Manon is she's joining their ranks. It can often feel as if they're fighting a tide of filth and losing; you only needed to do a week in child protection to lose any liberal tendencies you ever had.' PERSONAL ACCOMPLISHMENT

DI Harriet depicted as hard pg. 44 'Elsie humanised Harriet, who had a tendency to be hard' 'When you don't have kids, everyone assumes you're some fucking ball-breaking career freak, but it's not like that. It's more, y'know, a cock-up. It's something that happened *to* me. Elsie gets that.' DEPERSONLISATION (of other officers).

DC Bryony pg. 46 'It's always the uncle, or the stepfather. Or the boyfriend. Or possibly a complete stranger.' DEPERSONALISATION

DS Manon - true online dating profile pg. 47 *'Misanthrope, staring down the barrel of childlessness. Yawning ability to find fault. Can give off WoD (Whiff of Desperation). A vast, bottomless galaxy of loneliness. Educated: to an intimidating degree. Willing to hide this. Prone to tears. Can be needy. Often found Googling 'having a baby at 40'.* **Age:** *39* **Looking for:** *book reading philanthropist with*

psychotherapy training who can put up shelves. Can wear glasses (relaxed about this). **Dislikes:** *most of the fucktards I meet on the internet.'*

DC Davey - naïve, childlike optimism. Pg. 48 Nickname 'Silver' after Silver Lining 'the boy who's always looking on the bright side. He thinks the world might still come right if he just tries hard enough - which he does, all the time, mentoring at youth centres and looking out for every troubled child who crosses his path.'

DC Davy's outlook bleeds into his personal relationships - girlfriend Chloe is depicted as 'face like a slapped arse' and unsuited to Chloe. However, Manon sees the sense pg. 49 'Davy's at his best when rectifying. He often comes into the office with a carrier bag destined for the youth centre where he volunteers - 'Choccy Weetos for Ryan', 'Rex needs socks' - and the brightness in his eyes tells her how much satisfaction this tenderness gives him. Warming up a frozen, miserable girlfriend is his destiny.'

<u>Overview Chapter Manon, pg 32-52.</u>

Manon seems to respect Harriet for her struggles with policing, Harriet seems somewhat burnout and distress by the work, but supresses her emotions. Manon, relates and respects her for not depersonalising her work and having empathy for those she meets, however messed up this makes her.

Manon has a very poor view of herself and seems to rely on her work as a way of filling her life emotionally, again seems unable to connect with others on a personal level.

Davy seems to be very much in love with his job and is able to take a lot of self-worth from the work he can do - he works hard to empathise and help others. However, he seems to be displayed as naïve in his outlook.

<u>Chapter Manon, Pg. 58-68.</u>

Manon seems desensitised from what would normally be socially awkward situations/conversations. Possible depersonalisation? Pg. 64 'Farrer smiles at Manon but she has done too many of these interviews to be squeamish'.

Physiological response to emotions driving officers - leading to emotional exhaustion? Indicating that officers will keep going despite being physically depleted, pg. 6 'The adrenalin has swept away Manon's tiredness as she and -Harriet pummel down the stairs towards interview room two..'.

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 58-68.

Manon is supressing normal emotional reactions and is seen to drive forward beyond normal human functioning on an emotional and physical front.

Chapter Davy pg. 73-77.

Elements of depersonalisation - fascinated by the lives of OTHERS who they investigate, and weary of it - no empathy here for others complicated lives, pg. 74 'It exhausts as well as fascinates him, churning it all up with their big stubby stick. Can't you all just keep it simple he wants to sigh. Can't you keep it buttoned keep your fists out of it, stop drinking, stop shagging? Isn't life complicated enough?'

Davy is portrayed again as showing sympathy - but seems to OTHER the people that he deals with. Pg. 74, ''We were always together, always close, the three of us. I never questioned it. Shows what fool I am.' And Carter laughed in a self-deprecating way, which once again made Davy think, you poor chap.'

Manon is depicted as depersonalised, and insensitive to OTHER's plight, pg. 74 'Manon didn't seem to share his sensitivity. 'Perhaps you did know, Mr Carter?''

Again, Davy is portrayed to the sensitive character against Manon's harsher personality. Almost 'Good Cop, Bad Cop' scenario. Pg. 75 'Christ, Davy thought, give the man a sodding break.' 'Davy had put a hand on Manon's arm. Andy Davy exhaled, feeling reassured she would not go in and sock him with the Jason Farrer fumble. One infidelity at a time eh.'

Emotions between cops are tense. Shown as unforgiving of others struggles - depersonalised against their own colleagues needs. Pg, 75 'Well, go down there and do it for him,' says Manon. She and Harriet exchange irritable glances.'

Overview Chapter Davy, pg. 73-77.

This shows a lot of depersonalisation from the officers - to their witnesses and to each other. They also 'Other' a lot. There is a lot of judgement of others, and the standards are very subjective to themselves.

Chapter Manon, pg. 78-82.

Depersonalisation of witness/suspect. Pg. 80 ''Everytime he speaks, I want it to be over, said Manon, her eyes glazed. 'Yes' said Harriet. 'it's not boring, but it's like you just can't keep your mind on him at all. I found myself thinking about some shopping I have to pick up. Fascinating, isn't it?'

Depersonalisation of members of public in mourning. Pg. 81, 'They scare her, these tragedy tourists, as if they are hungry for catastrophe, a line from the inside of them to the inside of suffering - like a hook inside the cheek of a fish. Manon knows death and she knows it is no reset or journey. *Do not go gentle into that good night.'*

Shows empathy for victims, pg. 81, 'She thinks of Lady Hind's terrified face and realises the pain for relatives of the missing is that there is no clear face to stare into - neither the abyss of death, nor hope, but a ghastly oscillation between the two. If every there was a real purgatory, it's this.'

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 78-82.

There is significant depersonalisation of the people that Manon deals with and the nameless faceless public. There is empathy shown for the victim's mother - also seen as a victim, but she is again seen as a 'type' a 'relative of the missing'. She is categorised and 'othered' once again.

Chapter Manon, pg. 87-93.

Pressure from the DCS adds to the emotional weight on DI Harriet, pg. 93 'His gaze is on Harriet and she bristles with it.'

Chapter Manon, pg. 98-100.

Pressure from the DCS, and disregards for their investigate efforts and emotional response to the situation, implied not stated. Pg. 99, 'His manner had said: 'You've both got a bit over-excited, but now my steadying hand is back on the tiller.'

Manon struggles to find meaning in everyday pursuits outside of her work, pg. 100, 'Awful. I hate it. I mean what's the point of doing something just for the sake of it, when it isn't your job? I even went to a pottery class so I'd have something to type in. But I just couldn't get past the pointlessness of it.'

Chapter Manon, pg. 127-132.

Manon is depicted as beginning to like a criminal, seeing him as a human being and instantly berating herself for this, pg. 130 'God, he's so likeable. Must stop warming to him, immediately.'

Admiration for not doing emotional labour, pg. 134 'You've got to like that bout Kim - she doesn't impose 'the chat'.'

Manon depicted as having suffered childhood trauma and loss, pg. 136 'the door to her mother's bedroom ajar, her fourteen-year-old self, learning on the door frame, seeing the coroner standing over the body in the bed. Ellie was behind her, and she had pushed her sister back, wanting to shield her, knowing if she saw, she would never get it out of her head. The image she had shielded from Ellie: their mother's eyes open, her head on the pillow, her skin purple and mottled where the blood had stopped moving - it had gathered along the base of her like red wine in a tilted glass. Lividity. She knows the word for it now, but she didn't then. 'The black and blue discoloration of the skin of a cadaver, resulting from an accumulation of deoxygenated blood in subcutaneous vessels.'

Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 127-132.

Manon is depicted as having normal emotional reactions; warmth, distress but is clearly supressing these emotions in an active way. Possibly a learnt behaviour from childhood trauma.

Chapter Manon, pg. 145-154.

********SURFACE ACTING ********Manon is depicted as a child as having learnt 'negative resilience' - apparent coping whilst being significantly distressed by the death of her mother. Using school work as a way to avoid dealing with the difficult emotions - drawing the assumption that she has taken this coping mechanism into

adult life. Pg. 150 'They appeared to be functioning, did well in exams. Manon was top in her class because work, in comparison with living, was so easy. Reading was an escape. But she and Ellie were not - and she knew this even as a fourteen-year-old - intact, in the way other children were. There was a **surface** and then there was this gulf between it and their **inner lives**, shattered like a broken cup.'

As a child Manon is depicted as using anger as a coping mechanism for expressing other, unexpressed, emotions, when she and her sister chose to hate their new step mother. Despite her sister building a relationship with her step mother, Manon chose to be angry with her sister rather than bridge the gap with her step mother, pg. 150 'the wilfully immature hating of Una.'

Depersonalisation of Uniform officers by Manon pg. 150, 'She sees the pathologist from Hitchingbrooke, Derry Mackeith, talking to a uniform.'

<u>Overview Chapter Manon, pg. 145-154.</u>

Manon is very much depicted as a woman who has suffered significant trauma in her past, and at the time has sought to protect her younger sister from the trauma. She has learnt to cope by supressing her authentic emotions and presented an outer image for the benefits of adults and society, but has been self-aware enough to recognise that she had an inner hidden self, that went un-recognised and acknowledged. She was also self-aware enough to know that this was not healthy, although a way to cope. Ploughing herself into school work was a way to avoid dealing with her authentic emotions, a coping mechanism that she carried into adult life, throwing herself into work. There is the suggestion that Manon has not had the opportunity to learn to deal with her emotions as a child, and this spills out into her inability to form lasting adult relationships.

<u>Chapter Davy pg. 156-160.</u>

Davy deals with traumatic incidents through exercise, but is depicted struggling with images in his head and relating him to other areas of his life. He is depicted taking on responsibility for individuals lives, beyond his role and responsibility as an individual. It is also alluded that he cares more about the people he takes

responsibility for than other relationships in his life 'married to the job'. Pg. 157 'He pedals harder, away from the images the river conjures, of the body from yesterday - the inflammation of his flesh, his blue-purple colour inhuman. Just a boy. And Davy can't help but think about Ryan - what might happen to him without the protection of Aldridge House. He resolves to put in more calls, see if the social worker can do anything. Davy must try his best to stop Ryan ending up like that boy in the river, because before you know it, it can be too late, and he finds himself in a silent argument with Chole, because she way always saying, 'You love those kids more than me,' and going into a sulk.'

Chapter Manon Pg. 161-166.

Manon is written as having a liking for darker films, pg. 161 'The Swedes are a nation who appreciate morbidity, unlike the British, who are just as depressed as everyone else but who like to project their darker feelings, saying to people in the street, 'Cheer up, it might never happen.' Manon reacts with aggression 'Cat calls like that make her want to take out her Taser'.

Manon describes herself as not liking people but being lonely pg. 164, 'No it isn't. I sometimes think I don't actually lie anyone that much. That all I ever want is to be on my own. And then I can't cope with it - with myself, just myself all the time, and it's like I become the worst company of all - and there's this awful realisation that I need people and it's almost humiliating.'

Chapter Manon pg. 167-177.

Manon depicted as lonely through her inability to maintain romantic relationships, again written as childlike, alluding to her emotional immaturity, pg. 168, 'And Manon watches them. Isn't this what she should have? Isn't it what she should want? She know she comes here, like the third child, to inhale some of it, to slouch in the soft cushioning of the corner armchair where passivity is king.'

Infected eye creates almost a dissociative experience, pg. 'the picture watery, as if she is looking through smeared glass.'

Manon is written as determined in her independence and independence of character pg. 168 ‘It is the loss of separateness, the dependence which might cause her to meld formlessly into someone else until she no longer knows where she begins and ends, until she is no longer capable of saying, ‘you might like that, but I don’t like it, because I am different from you, separate from you.’ Or ‘I will not eat now, I will eat later.’

Harriet displays symptoms of anxiety, pg. 173 ‘Harriet reaches for her bra strap but her arm stops mid-air and she lays it back in her lap, like a dead thing. Has someone - Elsie? - told her she’s a fidget? Still, her foot is going. Kick, kick, kick, as fi the energy must escape from somewhere.’

Depersonalisation of fellow human beings pg. 176 ‘Never catch their eye.’

<u>Overview Chapter Manon pg. 167-177.</u>

Manon is depicted as viewing the world and it’s inhabitants from the outside. Separated from the world, looking in as a stranger - unable or unwilling to connect.

<u>Chapter Manon pg. 187-199.</u>

POLICE DEPERSONALISED BY PUBLIC Manon is aware of how ‘normal’ members of the public that she comes into contact with don’t view her as a whole human being, just another representative of the state, pg. 190 ‘Manon feels curiously invisible, not the first intruder from the state: Kilburn CID, social services, education welfare.’

Manon shows empathy and becomes personally involved in her work pg. 198 ‘’I want you to keep a tab for that boy over there,’ says Manon. ‘Give him whatever he wants to eat, whenever he wants to, and send the bill to me. I can give you card details as surety.’ ‘Come on, we’re going to buy you a coat.’

Davy calls out Manon becoming personally involved by referring to her sudden change in emotional response and empathy as a weakness pg. 199 ‘When did you turn so soft?’

<u>Chapter Manon pg. 225-229.</u>

Manon delves deeper into why she can’t connect or communicate with other human beings on a deeper level, why she can’t open up, though she is still confused why,

but knows that she can't get close to others. Again, talks of being on the outside, looking in, pg. 229 'She can't communicate ...what/ Something nuanced and complex about why she doesn't want to get involved with him. The way se stand back from the web of interaction because she can't commit to being inside it.'

Manon feels dissociated from herself pg. 229 ''I keep meaning to ring him,' says Manon, and she notices how her voice sounds: slow and dissociated, as if very far away.'

Manon is quick to move to anger as the emotion to express herself, rather than the true emotions that she is experiencing, pg. 229 'Manon has stood up abruptly. She's had enough. 'You fucking go out with him then.'

Chapter Manon pg. 275-278.

SHAME: Manon turned her phone off when she was not on call during a weekend off, Helena committed suicide after trying Manon, pg. 276 'Manon closes her eyes slowly, her body churning as shame begins its slow seep, like blood. The one time. The one time...'

Chapter Manon pg. 282-288.

The officers collectively show the stress of knowing that one of their witnesses killed themselves, and they are examining their consciences, pg. 282 'It travels up her spine in a cold bubble: horror, close to excitement. '"this is a fuck-up," Harriet is saying, pacing. "A massive fucking fuck-up of the first fucking order." Time has slowed, thickening the air so that Manon can hardly breathe. There is a metallic taste in her mouth like blood.'

Davy pg. 282 'He is sweating, a red patch creeping up his neck.'

Manon pg. 285 'Manon's mind feels along the territory of the things she could have done: deployed protection to Helena's flat as soon as Crimewatch made mention of a female lover; have Davy escort Helena home from Newnham, right then on the Thursday, refusing to take no for an answer; monitored her work phone over the weekend, as she would normally have done, though she wasn't on-call. Four days of neglect, in which Manon did none of these things, for no other reason than she just

didn't. Base, looked for pleasures, and Manon's hunger for them at the expense of every other thought. The shame, the shame of it.' 'Had she been on-call, her phones would have been on. She tells herself defiantly, triumphantly, that her weekend was her own, this job does not own her; so she is not lying when she defends herself to Harriet Harper. She is telling a kind of truth.'

Manon is traumatised by the suicide of Helena pg. 286 ''She was ashamed, really ashamed,' she says, and the bubble rises up into her throat and she feels she might cry out. 'She just experimented, that's all, and all of a sudden it was public and the shame of it, the guilt of it-' 'I am not Prince Hamlet, nor was meant to be,' she says' 'The poem. She was saying she wasn't the lead in her own play.'

Dissociation - Manon again observing mankind from the outside pg. 286 'On the way over, she'd sat in her car in a traffic jam and she'd looked at all the little heads and shoulders in front of their steering wheels. All these people locked in their own thoughts, enmeshed in complicated lives, each of us believing we're at the centre.'

When Manon believes that she is in a loving supporting relationship she is open with her partner and identifies the feelings that she associates with her single life, and supresses them, believing that she has turned a corner, but at the same time acknowledging the pain that she had been in, pg. 286 'she packs her frightened, lonely feelings away.'

Experienced emotions - sorrow and guilt, pg. 287 'Her movements are clumsy with the wine, and with her sorrow and guilt.'

<u>Overview Chapter Manon pg. 282-288.</u>

The officers, on learning of Helena's suicide, are significantly traumatised, each one taking responsibility and seeking to absolve themselves of responsibility. There are physical responses demonstrated and key emotions are shame and guilt. Also, the officers seem isolated in their distress - removing themselves from their colleagues as they anticipate blame. There is no psychological support offered to the officers.

<u>Chapter Davy pg. 293-297.</u>

Davy seems to be changing his life perspective and interactions with others, seemingly as a result of the suicide of Helena and his respondent guilt pg. 293 'Manon can suck it up for once.'

Davy is struggling with guilt 'He woke at 5.30 am, remembering abruptly, as if cut from sleep by the hard steel of his guilt.'

Davy's struggles with his feelings about his work seem to cause him to distance himself from his girlfriend and have caused him to re-evaluate his feelings for her pg. 293 'even a couple of weeks ago he would have been all for it, but now... How little he tells her of the fresh torments in his mind. Yet his distance seems only to fuel her enthusiasm.'

Harriet speaks to Manon in front of the office about having her phoned turned off over the weekend. Manon is visibly distressed by the implication that this was the cause of Helena's suicide. However, Harriet seems completely unsympathetic to her distress, and seems to make it clear that this is a form of punishment - almost a public shaming. The inferred message here is - you don't have a life outside of the job, and your tears are not relevant here. There is no consideration of making sure that Manon is alright when she leaves the room, pg. 295 'You might want to be married to this job, Harriet, but I don't. Anyway, I told you, the signal can be a big dodgy in my flat; on and off you know? I know you weren't on-call, and this isn't part of any official investigation, says Harriet, I'm just asking you. You know, what the fuck, Manon? That's right, it's my fault, says Manon in a swell of tears, and Davy and Harriet watch her make for the double doors, almost at a run.'

Davy tries to tell Chloe what he is struggling with pg. 296 'He's been attempting to explain about work, how much it's a part of how he sees himself. He's trying to describe their duty of care to Helena Reed and how they'd failed her, and how he couldn't get it off his mind. They'd ticked the boxes they were supposed to tick, so why does he feel so bad? Some part of him is taking umbrage already at the criticism that's heaped on the as officers - always the question of what they could have done better, faster, with immaculate paperwork and utmost sensitivity; what they should learn from what they've got wrong. That person on the night team, DC Monique

Moynihan, will probably lose her job, and maybe that's right. But all the while it feels like a war they're fighting, without enough resources. They were only doing their job.'

Chloe responds to Davy by complaining that he is never present in the moment - somewhere else when he is with her pg. 297 'Your mind's always on other things: poor Helena Reed, poor Ryan, isn't Manon the genius. You're never here, in the moment.'

Overview Chapter Davy pg. 293-297.

This chapter again shows the distress of the officers and them further isolating themselves from the people around them as they try to grapple with their feelings. The lack of care for each other's feelings is no more stark than when Harriet 'calls out' Manon, and she is visibly distressed. This chapter seems to show how difficult the officers find their work, but how little their individual feelings are valued or cared for.

Chapter Manon pg. 298-301.

Manon wants to speak to her father about her distress, but is unable to express her feelings. In her thoughts she also grapples with understanding her own feelings, though she recognises that her feelings are interfering with her perspective of what has happened. She also understands that she has a negative view of herself, and wants to tell her father, believing that he will see a better version of her, that she still hangs onto as a possible reality, despite her distress. She is desperate for an adult, paternal reassurance pg. 299 'She things to tell him the truth about Helena Reed, if only she could grasp where the truth begins and ends, how far her guilt seeps into the corners of it, because he would understand, would believe in her better self.'

Chapter Davy pg. 309-319.

Davy shows what could be anxiety, or certainly tension pg. 309 'a hand in his trouser pocket jangling his keys.'

Davy is annoyed with Manon's apparent change in mental state, from sad to happy. This section also highlights Manon's apparent previous typical behaviour which

indicates distress and sadness pg. 309 'No more crying in the car park; no more laying her forehead on the steering wheel; no more snatching the lattes from his hand or wiping away smears of mascara.'

Davy is depicted as sensing failure for the team and frustration pg. 309 'A girl has been missing for more than a month; another is dead. They haven't done their job, thinks Davy, and everything is at odds.'

It is Davy's turn to be lonely and he is confused as to how he feels, although he recognises that the suicide of Helena Reed has changed him as a person pg. 311 'Perhaps he misses the chap he was before Helena Reed died.'

Davy eventually opens up to a senior officer - with a surprising response, though the words of wisdom tell the reader that police work will dehumanise you if not careful pg. 314 'so he looked Stanton in the eye and told him how rotten he felt about Helena Reed, and how responsible. Stanton licked the foam off his upper lip and said, if you can keep those feelings, Davy lad, - and let me tell you, every minute in the police will chip away at them - but if you can hold onto those human feelings, you might just make a good copper.'

<u>Overview Chapter Davy pg. 293-297.</u>

Davy is depicted as struggling with intense feelings which are effecting his private life, and his relationship with his colleagues. He senses that he has changed. The reader is told that police work makes you unfeeling.

<u>Chapter Manon pg. 318-323.</u>

Manon talks of recognising the difference between the inner and outer self, pg. In body, perhaps, but not in spirit. Manon knows what lies beneath; how people can seem normal and yet grief swirls about like an unseen tide working against the currents of life, the mourner wrong-footed but its undertow. The bereaved should wear signs, she things, saying: *Grief in progress* - for at least a couple of hours.'

Chapter Manon pg. 324-325.

Manon shows signs of distress, perhaps PTSD pg. 324 'After a bad night, her emotions are as ragged as the Alps. Fitful sleep, wishful dreams, ended by waking to a vision of Helena Reed's body handing from the back of her bedroom.'

Chapter Manon pg. 328-333.

Manon is depicted as using alcohol as coping, numbing her emotions, pg. 331 'She thinks life is best passed in a blur: imprecise and anaesthetised from the sharper feelings. She is drowning as the gin engulfs her, swaying on the spot, the room spinning, the music pumping in time with the blood in her arteries. She can feel the beat through the soles of her feet.'

Chapter Manon pg. 334-341.

Manon is desperate as her life seems to fall apart, with the suicide of Helena central to her distress, pg. 334 'If there was only something left: a relationship gone wrong but her work intact; her work compromised but love still offering a future. Instead, it is a desolate landscape, the death of Helena Reed at its centre like a crucifixion, her head to one side. While she was with him, she could tell herself that dereliction of duty had been in aid of something; she hadn't wanted to be married to the job. Now, even the job won't have her.

Chapter Manon pg. 342-346.

Davy cruelly identifies Manon's inability to maintain a romantic relationship, insensitive to her struggles - depersonalisation? Pg. 346 'I heard a dog makes unhappy people happy. They're good, y'know, for people who can't form proper relationships.'

Chapter Manon pg. 347-352.

Manon shows a great deal of empathy for a convicted criminal in the justice system pg. 'In another confiscated letter, he writes: *I keep my head down. I don't talk to nobody. My personality's out there somewhere, waiting for me to grasp it when I'm out.* On the same page is a note: *Prisoner reading* Jude the Obscure *by Thomas Hardy.*

Material confiscated: violent themes. Manon wipes the tears from her cheeks. Along come Edith Hind: listening to him, trying to understand him. Asking how his day was, how his life was, what his plans might be, and whether she could help him. She must've been the first person to treat him like a human being in fifteen years. Even the words, 'Hello, Tony, how are you?' must've been like a long drink to a man dying of thirst.'

Chapter Manon pg. 353-359.

Police officers' depersonalisation towards each other - lack of empathy or sympathy. Manon is desperately upset in the toilets and is sobbing. Kim comes out of the toilet and nothing is said between the two officers, Manon's emotions are not acknowledged, pg. 355 'It is impossible to be Manon Bradshaw. Everything is broken and she starts to cry, as Kim emerges from her cubicle to the sounds of a fulsome flush. Did Kim hear the word 'unimaginative' at Cromwell's on Friday? Or is Manon blanching just at the thought? They nod at each other silently, neither mentioning Manon's tears nor her outburst in the bar.'

Secondary Coding of Missing Presumed

The very title of this novel is indicative of the depersonalised nature of police officers and police work. Missing, presumed dead – would be the full description. But like everything in police work, the humanity is taken out in the name of efficiency.

The novel follows Detective Sergeant Manon Bradshaw of the Cambridgeshire Major Incident Team, who is 39, childless and desperately seeking a partner on the internet. She is highly educated (English at Oxford), admits to disliking people and has an awkward relationship with her father and sister who are somewhat estranged. She is unable to maintain relationships. Her mother died unexpectedly when she was young, and this led to her initial dissociation. She finds herself 'married to the job' and investigating a missing young woman. The one time she does seem to find happiness and put herself first she is rewarded by the suicide of one of her witnesses. Reinforcing the belief that officers should not put their lives before the investigation. This is also reinforced by her DI (Harriett) who is furious for her not answering her phone despite being on rest day and not on call. Her colleagues have similar problems

with relationships, other than her happily married with two children friend (Bryony), though Bryony's career is stalling as she works a desk job to maintain the family. It seems here a choice is placed for women who wish to have successful family lives. It will come at the expense of your career. Davy is the 'naïve' cop – desperately trying to see the good in everyone, and to save them, the implication being that this makes him less good at his job. The investigation eventually wears him down, he becomes disillusioned with humanity through dealing with the behaviour of those within the investigation, he become bitter, this is seen to impact his relationship with his colleagues as his bitterness and loss of faith stretches to them as well, this is also seen to end his relationship as he becomes less tolerant of others. This is a dramatic change to Davy and can be seen to represent how police work eventually takes its emotional toll on the officer. The intensity of the investigation takes a toll on all of the investigation team's lives and well-being, as the officers repeatedly put their work before their families, their home life, and their health. Harriett is also a single middle-aged childless woman, who is bitter and has lost fait in humanity. She claims that she did not intend to end up singe and childless, just that the job talk over her life and it just turned out that way. Her own relationship is an elderly woman in a care home whom she met during an investigation into carer abuse. Manon likes Harriett because she is 'fucked up'. In the end Manon ends up in a similar position as she adopts the child of one of the victims of the investigation. Kim is a DC who is a less developed character – but characterised as likeable because she doesn't chat unnecessarily.

Chapter Manon Pg. 1-7.

<u>Interpretative Schemes</u>

Inability to form relationships.

Lack of emotional depth.

Never off duty.

Personal relationships are functional.

Emotional void.

Childless Woman.

Lonely Single Life.

Protector of the vulnerable.

Argumentation Clusters

A single woman over 30 is not economically useful in society.

Classifications

Married to the job.

Single woman of childbearing age.

Risk taking (taking unknown men back to her home).

Lack of self-care (home furnished with previous occupiers' furniture, not cleaning or tidying home).

Phenomenal Structures

As a single woman of a 'certain' age, Manon's commitment to her career is seen as failure in other areas of her life – classed as 'emotional immaturity' by closest female, married with children, friend. However, would this same perspective be applied to a man?

There are elements of mental health articulated: isolation, insomnia, lack of pride in home, lack of self-care and risk taking 'in her darker moments' (pg. 5).

Narratives Structures

Relationships are related to crimes scenes and death: thumb prints on a glass, a date who looks like an undertaker, leaving a date as if leaving the scent of death.

Relationships are functional and non-emotional: splitting of the bill, sex without knowing names.

Manon feels judged 'childless woman of thirty-nine' and is judged 'emotional immaturity' for her relationship status.

Chapter Davy Pg. 26-31.

Interpretative Schemes

Davy describes Manon:

Lonely, childless woman of a certain age.

Single and grumpy.

Sad and depressed.

Emotionally desensitised ('nothing like a festive stiff to warm the cockles of your front page' pg. 28).

Davy is presented as:

Proud officer.

In love with his work.

Police work is:

Police work is sexy and exciting, to some.

Argumentation Clusters

The press and the public dehumanise victims of crime and prefer to hear the more gory or lewd stories.

Classifications

The press – falling into different categories, local, tabloid and broadsheet, representing different standards of reporting.

Single woman of childbearing age, therefore lonely 'the loneliness rising off her like a mist'.

Phenomenal Structures

Davy is seen as a naïve optimist on one hand and committed to his important work on the other.

Manon is depressed because she is single, this makes her grumpy.

Narratives Structures

Sadness of Manon due to lack of personal relationship: 'Perhaps it's her age that's making her bad-tempered and he can understand that. She must be at least thirty-nine, the loneliness rising off her like a mist. He'd be the same if he didn't have Chloe. He's seen Manon, more than once, red-eyed coming out of the second floor toilets and his heart goes out to her on those occasions, watching her hurriedly wipe the snot away and try to act normal. Well, pissed off, which is normal.' Pg. 27.

The importance of police work: 'what he was so proud of – was the electronic notice board announcing the life and death work going on here…So much sexier than the jobs he could have had…human stories, base and sexual.'

Chapter Manon Pg. 32-52.

Interpretative Schemes

Colin – long service officer, desensitised and politically incorrect.

Harriet – super cop (literal representation 'The wings of her jacket are pinned back by her hands on her hips. She's full of fire, unbridled. If Manon ever went missing, she'd want Harriet to head up the search.' Pg. 35)

Harriet, lonely, childless woman of a certain age.

Elsie, elderly woman, lonely, childless.

Harriet is dehumanised.

Everyone who is single is lonely.

Argumentation Clusters

Victims are of more interest to the press if they come from well to do families, and therefore they get a better service than victims from less favourable backgrounds due to the pressure that they can exert.

Police officers and investigations are put under unnecessary scrutiny from external forces.

Police aren't just fighting criminals, they are fighting a court system stacked against them, and losing.

Classifications

Important investigation, possible homicide.

Police officers are not wholly human.

Phenomenal Structures

Police officers' struggle with the emotions of the job, leaving them isolated and unstable.

Police officers are less than human.

Police work comes before police officer's lives. ('Can't do lunch, high risk miser just blew up in my face.'pg. 45.)

Police officers feel that it is their responsibility to protect the world and everyone in it, and only they truly understand how this can be done.

Police officers depersonalise their victims 'It's always the uncle. Or the stepfather. Or the boyfriend.' Pg 46).

If officers are in a relationship it is not healthy or relates to their work.

Narratives Structures

Police work leaves you emotionally unstable, and unable to maintain traditional personal relationships outside of police work, this is acceptable, and almost taken as a sign of success: 'This is what Manon likes most about Harriet – no, not likes, understands: she isn't on an even keep. She feels the work in every fibre and it hurts her.' Pg. 43

'Elsie humanised Harriet, who had a tendency to be hard.'

'When you don't have kids, everyone assumes you're some fucking ball-breaking career freak, but it's not like that. It's more, y'know, a cock-up. It's something that happened *to* me.' Pg. 45

Chapter Manon, Pg. 58-68.

Interpretative Schemes

Adrenaline of investigation beats tiredness.

Police officers are not sensitive to otherwise uncomfortable situations.

Argumentation Clusters

Coming from an upper-class background and receiving a high level education messes people up and sets them aside from the rest of the population.

Classifications

Police officers are cold to other's situations.

Phenomenal Structures

Police officers are blinded by the investigation and see the people within it as constructs of individuals – as others.

Officers are burned out by the repetitive exposure to situations ('Farrer smiles at Manon but she has done too many of these interviews to be squeamish.' Pg. 64).

Narratives Structures

Police officer's work past the point of exhaustion due to the excitement of an investigation: 'The adrenalin has swept away Manon's tiredness…'

Chapter Davy pg. 73-77.

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers are desensitised to the plight of others.

Police work is emotionally exhausting.

Police officers are intolerant of everyone, including each other.

Argumentation Clusters

The tabloid press are a problem in a murder investigation and need to be controlled by the police (reference to Soham murders).

Classifications

People who are not police officers are OTHER people.

Being a police officer puts you at risk of becoming ill.

Police officers are intolerant of everyone, including each other.

Phenomenal Structures

Police officers recognise other people's lives as chaotic but don't recognise it in their own lives – which they appear to have limited awareness of.

Narratives Structures

'He's seen it all before, of course, but that doesn't make it any less depressing… it exhausts him as well as fascinates him…' pg. 74

Chapter Manon, pg. 78-82.

Interpretative Schemes

It is normal for police officers to keep odd hours, have very little sleep and eat breakfast in the evening.

Argumentation Clusters

Members of the public romanticise death as a way of exploring their own suffering.

Classifications

Police officers are well acquainted with death.

Members of the public are out of touch of the reality of victim suffering.

Family of missing child.

Boring but beautiful boyfriend.

Phenomenal Structures

Officers understand the reality and pain of victim's families, and this is their burden.

Narratives Structures

'Manon knows death and she knows it is no rest or journey. *Do not go gentle into the good night.'* Pg. 81

'the pain for relatives of the missing is that there is no clear face to stare into – neither the abyss of death, nor hoe, but a ghastly oscillation between the two. If ever there was real purgatory, it's this.' Pg. 81

Chapter Manon, pg. 87-93.

Interpretative Schemes

Police offices are unhealthy and miserable.

Officer's depersonalise the general public ('Even if he has killed her, he'll get a few marriage proposals.' Pg. 91).

Police use press conferences to see how family react.

Argumentation Clusters

People in positions of power interfere in high profile investigations, which does not help the police.

The press are insensitive and cause problems for the police.

Classifications

Old cops are not politically correct.

Interfering boss.

Pushy press.

Phenomenal Structures

A missing person investigation is a highly pressurised situation and it takes it toll out of the police officers, who are physically and emotionally affected by the need to resolve the investigation and satisfy the victim and their family, the senior authorities and the public and press.

Narratives Structures

‘Engine’s off and the wind squalls about the car. She should get out, look lively, jog up the steps ready for a new day, but instead she rests her forehead on the steering wheel.’ Pg. 87.

Chapter Manon, pg. 98-100.

Interpretative Schemes

No life outside of the job.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Shift work shortens your life.

Bosses are nervous around decision making.

Phenomenal Structures

Police officer’s lose interest in anything outside of work. Links to depression and the addictive nature of police work.

If you want to be a good detective, you have to be committed to your work – to the expense of everything else.

Narratives Structures

Description of police station and comparison to the home of the victim and her family, and an analogy for police work: ‘her mind returns again and again to Deeping – its painterly swathes, colours murky and creative – perhaps because it’s the polar opposite of police HQ, all pale laminate and strip lighting. The exposure of dark corners.’ Pg. 98

Chapter Davy, pg. 101 – 104.

Interpretative Schemes

Day to day life (Christmas) doesn’t fit in with police work, it isn’t important enough, life does not go on for police officer’s, it stops for police work. The days leading up to Christmas are used as a way to count how long Edith has been missing. Pg. 101.

Police officer's feel responsible for everyone.

Argumentation Clusters

All social services are strapped for cash and as a consequence can't provide the level of service they should, letting the vulnerable down.

Classifications

Incompetent public (searching – 'most appear to be chatting to one another, without so much as a glance around them.' Pg. 102).

Phenomenal Structures

Officer's put others before themselves in all areas – taking responsibility for the vulnerable people in their lives and seeking them out to help them. They have a need to protect.

Narratives Structures

'they should know, his colleagues, what's really happening – what he sees at the youth centre.'

'If Davy could do what he actually wanted this Christmas, he'd spend it with Ryan at the youth center.' Pg. 104.

Chapter Manon, pg. 105 – 108.

Interpretative Schemes

Being a woman in the police service means that you have to give up on the idea of marriage and children if you want to be successful.

Argumentation Clusters

The press can influence police investigations.

Classifications

Baby boomer ex-cops are right wing misogynists.

Phenomenal Structures

Consistent deriding attitude towards anyone that isn't the police.

Narratives Structures

'He's reacted, Manon thinks, to Thackeray in that press conference and the criticism surrounding their last high-risk misper.' Pg. 108.

Miriam 109 – 112

Narrative Structure 'Miriam's gaze has settled on DS Bradshaw, who is leaning against the closed door, her hands behind her back. Beautiful curls, unruly. She's always observing, and she now returns Miriam's gaze, though neither woman smiles.' Pg. 111. Interpretative Scheme. Manon is not part of the scene, more of an outsider looking in – quite dissociative. Classification All-knowing, all-seeing police officer.

Manon, pg. 113 – 116

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers depersonalise victims of crime and are desensitised to their plight.

Argumentation Clusters

There is a breakdown in social services, all services are looked to, to remedy the situation.

Classifications

Management speak.

Burned out police officer.

Phenomenal Structures

Repetitive exposure to others' distress leaves officers desensitised to suffering, and unable to engage with victims and the vulnerable.

Narratives Structures

'She's a bloody cold fish too.' Pg. 113

‘Manon yawns, hears the words ‘cross-sector involvement’ and ‘joined-up thinking’ waft across the room towards her.’ Pg. 115

‘He casts her a look as if to say, ‘boring, huh?’ pg. 116.

Chapter Manon, pg. 127-132

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers should not identify criminals as humans, particularly not likeable.

Officers are never truly off duty ‘the office Christmas ‘knees-up’, as Davy liked to call it – already an overstatement. Just a few of them having drinks, with their mobile on in case the duty team needs to update them. Besides, they’re all exhausted.’ Pg.130

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Always on duty.

Phenomenal Structures

Police officers join the organisation because they have experienced some form of trauma, usually within their childhood, and this leads them to constantly try to protect others.

Narratives Structures

‘the door to her mother’s bedroom ajar, her fourteen-year-old self, leaning on the door frame, seeing he coroner standing over the body in the bed. Ellie was behind her, and she had pushed her sister back, wanting to shield her, knowing if she saw, she would never get it out of her head.’ Pg. 136.

Chapter Manon, pg. 145-154

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers have no lives outside of work and would prefer to work Christmas.

Police officers home lives are neglected with police work providing more interest than home comforts.

Victims are depersonalised if their life choices are not 'mainstream'.

Due to the hours that police officers work, their diet is unhealthy and focused on convenience.

Police officer's personal life traumas allow them to empathise with victims.

Police officers are comfortable with dead bodies. They are no longer shocked by what they see.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Always on duty.

'Doughnut eating cops'

Phenomenal Structures

Police officers' personal relationships are dysfunctional, as well as their private lives.

Dissociative life – derealisation 'But she and Ellie were not – and she knew this even as a fourteen your-old – *intact,* in the way that other children were. There was surface and then there was this gulf between it and their inner lives, shattered like a broken cup.' Pg. 150

Contrast between Alan's calm life in the country and the dishevelled life of Manon in the city. Marks the gulf between 'members of the public' and the police.

Narratives Structures

'Shifts blurred into shifts, overtime into more overtime. They filled her bank account but not her fridge, so that when the tide rolled away, only empty wastes remained. A deserted life.' Pg. 147.

'she picked up a takeaway from The Spice Inn on Christmas night, stepping into the darkness of her flat…'. Pg. 146.

Chapter Davy pg. 156-160.

Interpretative Schemes

Exercise and nature are good ways to escape the distress of police work.

Police officers never stop thinking about their work – and will carry out investigative work on their days off.

Officer's care more about the vulnerable, and put more effort into vulnerable people, than their own personal relationships, to the detriment of their personal relationships.

Argumentation Clusters

People from privileged back grounds are not considered capable of violent crime.

Classifications

Judgmental 'dirty shagger'.

Phenomenal Structures

Lone officer thinking about investigation and distress of day – evaluating human race.

Narratives Structures

'He pedals harder, away from the images the river conjures, of the body from yesterday – the inflammation of his flesh, his blue-purple colour inhuman. Just a boy.' Pg. 157.

Chapter Manon pg. 167-177.

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers like morbidity and darkness – even in their entertainment choices.

Police officers identify with misfits – perhaps because they feel outside of society.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Anonymous systems analyst.

Desperate single woman.

NYE is for couples.

Phenomenal Structures

Sitting alone in a cinema, or by your self – very strong boundaries where other people are concerned.

Narratives Structures

An intolerance of humanity 'I sometimes think I don't actually like anyone that much. That all I ever want is to be on my own. And then I can't cope with it – with myself, just myself all the time, and it's like *I* become the worst company of all – and there's this awful realisation that I need people and it's almost humiliating.' Pg. 164.

Chapter Manon pg. 167-177.

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers seek to preserve the separation from others, to dissociate from the world around them as a form of security and protection.

Police officers are always available no matter their personal commitments – they are always secondary to the investigation.

Anxiety – pent up energy, Harriet is always moving – fiddling, kicking her leg. Pg. 173.

Officers (or women) are always on alert – seeing strangers as potential offenders or attackers. Pg.176 Heightened response from the Amygdala?

Argumentation Clusters

Money influences the classification of crime and the resources that are allocated to it. This restricts police investigation and the wrong classification can reduce police capability. These decisions are usually made by people who are removed from the investigation. 'Perhaps she should inform Sir Ian that his dear friend's austerity budget means there aren't enough resources to find his daughter.' Pg. 175.

Classifications

Always on duty. (called in NY day)

Phenomenal Structures

Derealisation: ‘The windows of the kitchen are fogged, as if the world Bryony and Peter have created – the roast lunch, the baby she is putting down for a nap, the toddler playing Lego in the next room - has erased the outside because it is not needed. This world, their world, is inside.’

‘She rubs the infected eye and re-opens slowly, the picture watery, as if she is looking through smeared glass. Those vicious shards of loneliness cannot seem to prick them in here, in this inner world, where someone has taken an eraser to the view. But its innerness is also airless.’ Pg. 168.

Narratives Structures

‘And her inner world shudders as if a host of celestial doves were fluttering up inside her rib cage’. Pg. 176. Inner and outer worlds.

Chapter Manon pg. 187-199.

Interpretative Schemes

Officers are more happy in their work role than social role – Manon takes Fly for dinner, and is relaxed. Unlike other social settings when she is not in her role as a police officer.

To show empathy and kindness to people officers have to step outside policy and procedure and break with protocol.

Officers become emotionally involved with victims.

Empathy is a weakness ‘When did you turn so soft.’ Pg. 199.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Child on poverty line.

Neglectful parents, alcoholic.

Care homes are bad for children.

Phenomenal Structures

The gap between the police and the rest of the world – occupying two different worlds. Derealisation, dissociation, depersonalisation 'Manon feels curiously invisible, not the first intruder from the state…' pg. 190.

People from poor or impoverished backgrounds (Taylor Dent) do not receive as in-depth investigation if they go missing, as if they were from a higher echelon of society (Edith Hinds).

Narratives Structures

Poverty is linked to immigration: 'the shops are a motley cheek-by-jowl roll-call of immigration, like strata in rock: McGovern's Free House; Halal kebab; Bocavia magazine romesc…' pg. 189.

Chapter Manon pg. 206 – 209

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers fail to look after their health, putting police work first.

Police work is a good excuse to avoid personal relationships.

Police officers do not like people to get close to them.

Phenomenal Structure

Police officer's personal needs come second to police work and there is an unspoken rule that you can't take time for personal matters if there is work that needs to be done.

Chapter Davy pg. 210 – 214

Interpretative Schemes

The police are the servants of the public – and therefore can be ridiculed and berated for their perceived lack of progress on investigations. There is a lack of respect from the public, despite the police having to be at all times respectful of the public.

Argumentation Clusters

Austerity measures hamper investigations.

Classifications

Management speak hinders understanding.

The police are stupid.

Phenomenal Structures

The police are dependent on the public to support them with their investigations, yet dehumanise them, which would indicate a lack of true engagement with their communities.

Narratives Structures

Chapter Manon pg. 225-229.

Interpretative Schemes

Manon is burned out and emotionally exhausted and resorts to anger rather than trying to engage with her emotions and her friends' questions.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Well-meaning friend.

Burned out cop.

Phenomenal Structures

When personal lives are raised, officers become dissociated and distant. Preventing them engaging in any meaningful relationships. 'I keep meaning to ring him.' Says Manon, and she notices how her voice sounds: low and dissociated, as if very far away. 'I just don't get round to it. I don't know why.' Pg. 229.

Dissociated: 'The way she stands back from the web of interaction because she can't commit to being inside it.' Pg 229. On the outside looking in.

Narratives Structures

'The phones are shrieking, over and above each other, like wailing babies demanding immediate attention. She has 148 unread emails in her inbox. The chorus, persistent and shrill, of keyboards clacking, voices, and mobiles bleeping is drilling into her frontal lobe and transforming itself into piercing pain downwards towards her left eye. The department has gone into overdrive since *Crimewatch* was broadcast last night.' Pg. 225.

Chapter Manon pg. 237 – 242

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers are manipulative and often economical with the truth. Though they do not recognise the relationship between their behaviour and that of someone the other side of the law.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Clever kid gets noticed.

Posh people shop at John Lewis.

Phenomenal Structures

The crime world is a different place from the normal world, where every day people live. You have to go from one side of the divide to the other, the police have a foot in both sides of the divide, but this does not help them and makes them feel like they belong nowhere. '…lost in this world that I don't know anything about. It's like some secret door he goes through, where he's unreachable, like the screen has stolen him from me.' Pg 239.

Social services don't have the time to invest in people/children who they don't think have talent.

Narratives Structures

Chapter Davy pg. 243 – 244

Interpretative Schemes

The rush of the investigation – officers can get excited by possible leads and distracted from other aspects of the case. Including the needs of victims.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Knights in shining armour.

Phenomenal Structures

Narratives Structures

She's excitable, he's seen that look before. When she gets the bit between her teeth, she doesn't want to stop. 'Come on, Davy, this could be it – this could be the thing that solves it. You and me, and a collar. She lifts and lowers her eyebrows at him, a bit comedy. 'To Biggleswade!' she says, raising aloft an imaginary sword.' Pg. 244 – presenting police officers as chivalrous knights out to save the day.

Chapter Manon pg. 245 – 247.

Interpretative Schemes

Manon is too excited about making an advance in the case to focus on the needs of Helena.

Police officers always perceive threat and risk first – getting a box of chocolates at the front counter is catastrophised into a possible mass poisoning attempt on the station.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Emotional Victim.

Phenomenal Structures

Officers depersonalise victims and are dismissive of their feelings, at one point Manon and Davy are concerned for Helena, and then they making only passing

comment of her earlier emotional display: 'She looked pretty torn up about the *Crimewatch* stuff. Need to keep an eye on her.' Pg. 246

Narratives Structures

Chapter Manon pg. 275-278.

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers are accustomed to looking into other people's personal lives, this desensitises them to people and leads them to depersonalise them.

Argumentation Clusters

Just because young women post pictures of themselves on the internet does not mean that other people should view them through a sexual lens. There should be more respect for the person behind the picture.

Classifications

Young people are prone to making mistakes.

Phenomenal Structures

Police officers feel instantly responsible if anything goes wrong, even if it was outside. of the role to prevent the events.

Narratives Structures

'her body churning as shame begins its slow seep, like blood. The one time. The one time…' pg. 276

Chapter Manon pg. 282-288.

Interpretative Schemes

Police culture reinforces the belief that police officers come second to their duty, and they should be available at all times – reachable in some way. This can be reinforced in a non-formal way if officers are found to be uncontactable on their rest days, as

other officers are disapproving – particularly if there is an important investigation at hand – even if the officer is not on call.

Family and friends expect officers to be stoic – Manon feels judged by Alan for being emotional in the wake of Helena's death – did he desire he because he believe that there would not be an emotional entanglement with her. 'his is actually asking her not to emote in his presence.' Pg. 286.

Argumentation Clusters

The irony that the author plays of our heroine recognising the comparison between her life (that is ruled by her police job) and that of Helena who, in taking her own life quoted 'This is not what I meant at all, this is not it at all.' Inferring that she is not in control of her own life – not the lead character in her own play. And neither is our heroine 'all these people locked in their own thoughts, enmeshed in complicated lives, each of us believing we're at the center.' – this is a good reference to acting as well, which fits well with our players behaviour. Pg. 286.

Classifications

Shame.

Phenomenal Structures

The feeling of derealisation when you are in shock, which comes with distressing news. ''When?' says Manon, and she is surprised her voice is audible because she feels as if she is under water.' Pg. 283.

Rumination – Picturing scene and victim, contemplation of the things that could have been done differently.

Having to justify not picking up your phone on a rest day and feeling shamed for not doing so and for wanting to have a life herself. 'This job does not own her…' pg. 285 – though it would seem that it does.

Compartmentalisation: 'She packs her frightened, lonely feelings away.' Pg. 286

Narratives Structures

Fear: ‘It travels up her spine in a cold bubble: horror, close to excitement… time has slowed, thickening the air so that Manon can hardly breathe. There is a metallic taste in her mouth like blood.’ ‘he is sweating, a red patch creeping up his neck.’ Pg. 282

Chapter Davy pg. 293-297

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers are never open with close family about their true feelings and inner thoughts. (Davy, pg. 293. ‘How little he tells her of the fresh torments in his mind.’)

Guilt and shame beyond the reasonable expectations of their roles ‘He’s trying to describe their duty of care to Helena Reed and how they’d failed her, and how he couldn’t get it off his mind. They’d ticked the boxes they were supposed to tick, so why does he feel so bad?’ pg.296.

Davy compares his girlfriend Chloe to his mum – implying that his relationship is a continuation of his relationship with his mum, he needs a relationship where he takes responsibility in the light of the other’s apathy. Pg. 296. Is this what police officer’s do – play out their childhood in their adult lives, is this what we all do?

Argumentation Clusters

Unreasonable expectations are made of the police as an organisation, and of individuals, particularly in times of austerity with reduced resources. No matter what they do, they are found wanting and openly criticised, when they as individuals are human beings trying their best ‘Some part of him is taking umbrage already a the criticism that’s heaped on them as officers – always the question of what the could have done better, faster, with immaculate paperwork and utmost sensitivity; what they should learn from what they’ve got wrong. That person on the night team, DC Monique Moynihan, will probably lose her job, and maybe that’s right. But all the while it feels like a war they’re fighting, without enough resources.’ Pg. 296.

Classifications

Burnout cop.

Sulky girlfriend.

Jealous girlfriend.

Phenomenal Structures

PTSD? Woken by hard steel of guilt.

There is a blame culture in the police – 'I know you weren't on-call, and this isn't part of any official investigation, says Harriet. I'm just asking you. You know, what the *fuck*, Manon?' pg. 295.'

Narratives Structures

'Being here in the moment with you is like… it's like being sucked down into quicksand. It's like drowning… You make me suffocate in the misery of it.' Pg. 297.

Chapter Manon pg. 298-301.

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers are never open with close family about their true feelings and inner thoughts. (Manon pg. 299 'she thinks to tell him the truth about Helena Reed…')

Guilt and shame beyond the reasonable expectations of their roles Manon pg. 299 '…if only she could grasp where the truth begins and ends, how far her guilt seeps into the corners of it, because he would understand, would believe in her better self.'

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Estranged father.

Wicked Stepmother.

Phenomenal Structures

Narratives Structures

Chapter Davy pg. 309-319.

Interpretative Schemes

Officers feel immense guilt if the investigations do not go well, again they feel a responsibility beyond their roles – this also affects the rest of the lives and their mental well-being, as the outcomes can be so devastating.

There is a distinct change in Davy since Helena died, he is more depressed and frustrated with life.

To be a good cop you need to be human – but being a police officer slowly dehumanises you: 'He looked Stanton in the eye and told him how rotten he felt about Helena Reed, and how responsible. Stanton licked the foam off his upper lip and said 'if you can keep those feelings, Davy lad, - and let me tell you, every minute in the police will chip away at them – but if you can hold onto those human feelings, you might just make a good copper.'

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Drinking after work.

Phenomenal Structures

Does this guilt and taking far too much personal responsibility come from a public critique of the police as well as an internal blame culture 'How people love to criticise, Davy thinks, shaking his head. It's never a stranger.' Pg. 310.

Davy at Helena's funeral staring at her picture: 'He was staring at his guilt and at his failure to prevent something so wantonly destructive.' Although, we hear how Helen's father had a result due to the press attention on his daughter – Davy never thinks to blame the press.

Drinking is a way that officer's find time to communicate with each other.

Davy shows what could be anxiety, or certainly tension pg. 309 'a hand in his trouser pocket jangling his keys.'

Narratives Structures

‘Perhaps he misses the chap he was before Helena Reed died, cheerfully intending to marry Chloe…’ pg. 312.

Chapter Manon pg. 318 – 323.

Interpretative Schemes

There is a distinct change in Davy since Helena died, he is more depressed and frustrated with life.

To be a good cop you need to be human – but being a police officer slowly dehumanises you: ‘He looked Stanton in the eye and told him how rotten he felt about Helena Reed, and how responsible. Stanton licked the foam off his upper lip and said ‘if you can keep those feelings, Davy lad, - and let me tell you, every minute in the police will chip away at them – but if you can hold onto those human feelings, you might just make a good copper.’

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Phenomenal Structures

Emotional Labour – we hide our emotions – Harriet is grieving ‘Manon knows what lies beneath; how people can seem normal and yet grief swirls about like an unseen tide working against the currents of life, the mourner wrong-footed by its undertow. The bereaved should wear signs, she things, saying: *Grief in Progress* – for at least a couple of years.’ Pg. 319

Narratives Structures

Chapter Manon pg. 324-325.

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers’ friends are usually all in the police.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Phenomenal Structures

Manon shows signs of distress, perhaps PTSD pg. 324 'After a bad night, her emotions are as ragged as the Alps. Fitful sleep, wishful dreams, ended by waking to a vision of Helena Reed's body handing from the back of her bedroom.'

Drinking is used as a way to coping with distress – either at work or in personal lives.

Derealisation – alcohol is used as a way of emotional numbing.

Narratives Structures

Chapter Manon pg. 334-341.

Interpretative Schemes

When rock bottom, police officer's use police work as a distraction – problem solving to occupy their minds rather than deal with difficult emotions.

Desperation can lead to unnecessary risk taking. Or police work can lead you to take greater risks?

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Violent sex offender.

The burned-out cop works off duty, breaking with protocol to save the investigation.

Phenomenal Structures

People suffering with PTSD will take greater risks.

Police officers have to step outside policy and procedure to successfully complete an investigation.

Police officers care less about themselves than their investigations and will put themselves in harms way to be successful at their work.

Narratives Structures

Chapter Manon pg. 342 - 346.

Interpretative Schemes

The only people that care about police officers is other police officers.

Despite being injured police officers believe that the organisation will always focus on what they have done wrong rather than their wellbeing 'Which is passcode locked, so don't panic. I'll give a statement to CID.' Pg.343.

Argumentation Clusters

Classifications

Partner is always there for other (opo).

Phenomenal Structures

Narratives Structures

Weakness and goodness:

'you're the best copper I know.'

'I'm not though, am I? Always paddling too hard.'

'Not lately,' she says. 'Lately you've seemed quite shifty.'

'I'm weak.'

Chapter Manon pg. 347-352.

Interpretative Schemes

Police officers are committed to their work – even when injured at home – even when this is not an expectation of their supervisor.

Internally police officers have a lot of empathy for other human beings, those this is never displayed, but on their own they allow this to affect them quite deeply. 'Prisoner reading Jude the Obscure by Thomas Hardy. Material confiscated: violent themes. Manon wipes the tears from her cheeks.' Pg. 350.

Argumentation Clusters

The prison system is set up to fail offenders and there is no rehabilitation, if you are Muslim you are hated by other inmates and the prison staff.

Classifications

Stereotyped ex-con.

Phenomenal Structures

Police officers are able to see into many aspects of peoples otherwise private lives, they are often alone when exploring the events in others' lives and are exposed to the distress that others go through, and this can affect them emotionally.

Narratives Structures

Appendix M: Audio Diary Initial Idiographic Narrative Analysis.

Narrative Analysis – Framework 'Why was the story told *that* way?' (Reismann, 1993:2)

Dramatisation

(Burke, 1945 cited in Riessman, 1993:19)

Act: What was done?

Scene: When or where it was done?

Agent: Who did it?

Agency: How they did it?

Purpose: Why?

Here I am looking to understand who the key players are in this story, and what are the important acts that are carried out – what is chosen to be examined and retold.

Plot Structures

(Yans-McLaughlin, 1990 cited in Riessman, 1993:33)

I am thinking about power here and whether individuals subjugate themselves to the system 'this is the way it is' 'this happened to me' 'I did this' (Riessman, 1993). The macro narrative affect of the institution and society on the individual (micro) narrative (Souto-Manning, 2014).

A) How the speaker organised past, present and future time in the diary entry
B) The way the speaker described him or herself in relation to the past
C) The way the speaker describe, or failed to describe, interaction with objects and persons.

Narrative Analysis – Thematic Coding (Bambrick, 2013; Spencer et al, 2014)

Emotional Labour

Feeling and Display Rules

How are the Feeling and Display rules communicated and who by?

Surface Acting

Deep Acting

Emotional Dissonance

The 'Magic If' – when officers relate their own personal experiences to those that they deal with at work.

Burnout

(Maslach and Jackson, 1981)

- Emotional Exhaustion (EE): where employees feel emotionally spent.
- Depersonalisation (DP): when employees demonstrate a detached attitude to others.
- Diminished Personal Accomplishment (PA): where employees sense low personal efficacy

Dissociation

(Aaron, 2000; American Psychiatric Association, 2013)

'splitting off from awareness, thoughts, feelings, or memories' (Aaron, 2000:439). Emotional detachment (Lanius et al. 2010).

Hypoemotionality 'I know I have feelings, but I don't feel them' (APA, 2013:302).

Hyporeactivity - presenting and feeling robotic.

Depersonalisation and Derealisation – detached from aspects of self, such as feelings. A split self, one part observing another. Physical and emotional numbing. Compartmentalisation, disruption, emotional detachment.

High emotional regulation and modulation. Disengagement from trauma memory.

Hochschild's Nameable Emotions (2003:240-243).

Sadness Grief

Nostalgia

Depression

Frustration

Anger

Fear

Indignation

Disgust

Contempt

Guilt

Anguish

Envy

Jealousy

Love, liking

Compassion

Pity

Embarrassment

Shame

Anxiety

Lazarus (1999) Emotions and Core Relational Themes

(Lazarus, 1991 cited in Lazarus, 1999:96)

Anger	A demeaning offence against me and mine.
Anxiety	Facing uncertain, existential threat.
Fright	An immediate, concrete, and overwhelming physical danger.
Guilt	Having transgressed a moral imperative.
Shame	Failing to live up to an ego ideal.
Sadness	Having experienced an irrevocable loss.
Envy	Wanting what someone else has.

Jealousy	Resenting a third party for loss or threat to another's affection or favour.
Disgust	Taking in or being too close to an indigestible object or idea (metaphorically speaking).
Happiness	Making reasonable progress toward the realization of a goal.
Pride	Enhancement of one's ego identity by takin credit for a valued object or achievement, either one's own or that of someone or group with whom we identify.
Relief	A distressing goal-incongruent condition that has changed for the better or gone away.
Hope	Fearing the worst but yearning for better.
Love	Desiring or participating in affection, usually but not necessarily reciprocated.
Gratitude	Appreciation for an altruistic gift that provides personal benefit.
Compassion	Being moved by another's suffering and wanting to help.
Aesthetic Experiences	Emotions aroused by these experiences can be any of the above: there is no specific plot.

Appendix N: Audio Diary General Themes.

Theme	Example
• **Death** Death is one of the main topics discussed by participants. However, different emotions are experienced depending on the context of the death. For some participants a lack of emotion becomes an issue, whereas others respond to the emotions of grieving families. Death is often not discussed with friends or family. Officers who are left on scene guard are affected due to having significant	Participant 20 gives two examples relating to death but expresses entirely different emotions on each occasion. One is early on in his service when he is still a PC and he attends the natural death of an elderly gentleman, single crewed. P20 is distressed at seeing the grief of the widow, to the point of tears. He feels that he has let the widow down by not suppressing his emotions. The second is a brutal suicide/murder with a very distressing scene. P20 is now a Sgt and is accompanied by a younger in-service PC, P20 states that he feels no emotions, but at the same time says he has to be available to provide emotional support of his colleague, as he is the ranking officer. His lack of emotional response eventually becomes a concern for him as it is expected of him by his colleagues.

amounts of time to reflect on the crimes that have been committed. The deaths of children are particularly traumatic with many incidents never having been discussed until the audio diary entry. Officers also deal with a number of suicides, and this is often distressing when they have to deal with traumatised family and witnesses, particularly when officers are struggling with their own emotions at the scene.	Participant 16 talks about a forensic post-mortem where he is acting as exhibits officer. This is only the second time that he has been to a post-mortem, and the first time as an exhibits officer, which means that he is very close to the body and body parts. P16 finds the process very upsetting. In response to the situation, P16 actively dissociates from the body and process in order to cope with the situation and the emotions that he is experiencing. He feels pressure to look calm and unaffected from the experienced and ranking detectives and mortuary technicians around him who are showing no emotion.
• **The way that officers are dealt with by senior officers.** Often officers speak about feeling devalued by senior officers. Officers express frustration in how they are dealt with by	Participant 8 talks about herself and her shift being sent to execute a warrant on the address of a very violent offender looking to kill police officers and armed with a firearm. Objections are raised but the Superintendent of the division orders them to carry out the warrant. From the manner that the incident was dealt with by the Superintendent P8 draws the conclusion that

senior ranks and how this creates a sense of worthlessness and futility in their work. Officers also speak about the manner in which senior officers speak to them, which is often derogatory and degrading, and creates a parent child relationship which is often disrespectful to the officer.	their lives are insignificant to the senior management, as are their views '…our opinions didn't count, and we were worthless'. Participant 1 talks about an incident where a new Chief Inspector calls himself and a colleague in to his office to speak to them about a discipline matter that had been dealt with and concluded 18 months prior. The new Chief Inspector wishes to make the officers aware that he did not agree with the outcome and does not believe that they should have retained their position on the firearms department. P1 quotes him as saying 'I don't fucking care what you think.' P1 feels powerless to challenge the behaviour of the senior officer and as a result of the meeting P1 feels vulnerable in his position on the unit and unsupported by his senior management, this has an impact on him carrying out his day to day work.
• **Incidents involving children.**	Participant 5 talks about attending a domestic murder where husband has brutally battered his wife to death in front of their two-year-old child, the child who watches the officers attempting to resuscitate his mother until P5 takes

Incidents involving children are particularly distressing for officers. Children don't have to be physically harmed in anyway, but officers seem particularly aware of the emotional distress children experience and this is particularly affecting. Where children are physically harmed in some way officers are particularly affected and distressed by these incidents, recalling events that happened many years back in their service.	him out of the house. P5 reflects on how this incident will stay with the child for life, which could be a reflection of how the incident has stayed with P5 who later on talks about another domestic violence situation in Entry 3, which reminds him of his own childhood and experience of domestic violence.
• **Where effort goes unmarked.** There is a strong sense of organisational injustice, where officers feel that hard work goes unnoticed and unvalued. Officers often feel that they work harden than their colleagues, and 'keep the wheel on' where	Participant 14 talks about working a weekend as duty Detective Inspector and running multiple critical jobs and managing significant risk, with no one to hand over to. They work long hours and take their work home to keep managing the investigations. Exhausted come Monday morning, P14 also becomes dejected on realising that his efforts have gone unrecognised: 'you can knock your pipe out, you can work until you make yourself feel unwell, you can go without

resources would otherwise likely result in a loss of service provision. It is felt that this goes unnoticed and that often officer's discretionary effort is taken for granted as a stop gap for the lack of resources caused by austerity measures.	breaks you can work like a bloody idiot and it is just as if the command team are like – yep, next.'
• **When officers are unsupported by the organisation.** There are very many different ways in which officers feel unsupported by the organisation, from a lack of welfare provision to a lack of support with training needs. This causes significant frustration and again sends the message to officers that the organisation does not value them. Officers feel powerless to challenge	Participant 5 on returning back to the station following a domestic murder attends a debrief where his Sgt enquiries of the team 'anybody want welfare?' although desperately upset by the sight of the child watching his mother's attempted resuscitation, he does not feel able to speak up and ask for support due to the manner of the Sgt and his colleagues around him.

decisions which often leads to a withdrawal of discretionary effort. This is an isolating experience for officers.	
• **Violence against themselves and others.** Violence is particularly distressing for officers, though this is most likely going to be suppressed. Officers do not feel able to express fear in any environment as they do not wish to be seen as weak. This is compounded by the need to suppress their anxiety around their use of force, for fear that it would make them look guilty of using	Participant 9 talks about an incident where both herself and her colleague are assaulted by a wanted male whom she had located at an address: 'I was scared of him and the situation that we found ourselves in.' However, P9 can't express her fear due to the humour and banter being engaged in by her colleagues who answered her emergency call. Participant 1 talks about the anxiety of tasering a male who has offered him violence. Initially he deals with the adrenaline from the chase, then the ensuing fight, and then the anxiety of the decision to discharge his taser and the potential subsequent Professional Standards investigation. All of these

excess force. Officers also express a sense of vulnerability when dealing with violent offenders when single crewed, which is something that is more routine since the loss of numbers of front-line officers.	concerns force P1 to suppress his emotions – presenting an image of controlled calm.
• **Lack of care from supervisors.** This is another dominant theme, with a general lack of consideration demonstrated by supervisors, whether this is not acknowledging personal matters or responding to requests for support, or more direct derisive behaviour. There is also a general neglect demonstrated by supervisors who fail to consider officers basic needs, whether at scenes or ensuring	Participant 21 talks about having a period of loss within her immediate family, losing her own mother and then her mother in law within 9 months. She is then called in to see her supervisor for her first PDR meeting – the first meeting with a supervisor in four years. She asks for the meeting to be rescheduled as she is still grieving for both losses and dealing with her own medical issues. Her supervisor's response is 'there is never a good time and we have all got things going on… she has been on the team for the year that I have been there, aware of my own bereavement nine months ago and then this is the second one I have had within nine months, looks straight at us across the table and then asked about any training needs'.

that officers have returned to the station unharmed after an incident.	
• **When personal life is reflected in work life.** Officers are particularly affected by incidents which bear some resemblance to their own circumstances, whether this be from their own childhood, or current circumstances such as illness or death in their immediate family. This creates significant empathy in officers, but is something that they will not discuss either at home or with colleagues. Officers seem very reluctant to discuss personal matters in particular.	Participant 9 talks about attending a natural sudden death of an elderly gentleman. Though this should have been a straight forward matter to deal with there were two factors that caused the officer significant difficult, the first was the officers recent loss of their grandparent to dementia which was particularly recent and still very raw, the second was the numbers of family present and the very open grief displayed by the widow 'I found this really upsetting, especially with things being so raw for me, I found it very difficult to hold back tears at times, and it was very emotional.' Participant 5 talks of a domestic incident he attended where the situation reminded him of his own childhood, as a response to this memory he responds in a decisive manner towards the offender 'it was just strange how something that I had just forgotten about from nearly sixteen years ago, and probably hadn't though about for sixteen years, suddenly flashed in my mind.'

• **Injury or death of colleagues.** This theme is different to others. This is an area where officers are more comfortable articulating their emotions, particularly where a colleague loses their life. There seems to be much more permission around emotional expression when in relates to the death of a police colleague. Although officers state that there is a loss of the police family, emotional reactions towards the suffering or loss of a fellow colleague would indicate that they still experience a sense of connectivity.	Participant 27 talks about the attempt suicide of a colleague from their station, and the lack of support from supervision. This clearly has an affect on P27 though they feel that the response from senior management is a little too late and somewhat disingenuous as P27 feels that the organisation was likely the cause of the colleagues attempt to take their life. 'One of our colleagues…has gone to headquarters and tried to hang himself off the gates. It is a bit too close to home, one of our colleagues just gets to the point where he thinks enough is enough…' Participant 21 also talks about the suicide of a colleague on their traffic unit, who is also a very close friend. They are informed of their death by a colleague attending the scene. At work the whole unit is affected by the death and openly grieve. 'even at work their were a few tears…there were times where I became quite upset myself, and I allowed myself to be upset.' However, P21 also felt that the support from senior officers was disingenuous and provided little really support. Support was taken from colleagues in the unit.

Experienced and Expressed Emotions:

Experienced Emotion	**Number of Diary Entries Identifying Emotion**
Fear	21
Fright	12
Anxiety	49
Sadness	32
Grief	19
Sympathy	6
Compassion	25
Guilt	16
Humiliation	3
Shame	21

Disgust	11
Contempt	27
Anger	28
Frustration	38
Indignation	6
Concern	6
Distress	5
Anguish	6
Pity	5
Relief	20
Pride	8
Helplessness	5
Gratitude	4

Happiness	3
Hope	1
Regret	1
Envy	1
Disappointment	1

Appendix O: Audio Diary Themes of Emotional Labour.

In Interaction With:	Feeling and Display Rules:
- **With members of the public**	• Officers can't show fear to offenders or it will be seen as a weakness and used against them. • Officers cannot empathise with offenders, as this is a weakness. • Officers must show sympathy and compassion to victims and families of victims, regardless of their behaviour towards the officer. • Officers can't show anger or frustration to offenders in public. • Officers can't display grief to families of the deceased, this would be inappropriate and unhelpful. • Members of the public believe that police officers don't have feelings and shouldn't show them. • Officers must always display a 'professional image' (which means being non-emotional). • Officers are on duty 24/7 and must respond according to the on-duty feeling and display rules. • Officers must always be in control of the situation and their emotions. • Officers can't display anger towards other officers when members of the public are present (otherwise it is okay). • Officers can't display shock or distress, no matter the circumstances, as the public rely on them to be strong and in control.

	• Police officers must always tell the truth no matter how difficult that is for a member of the public to hear. • Officers must put everyone first, even when they are injured and in shock themselves.
- **With Colleagues**	• Having emotions in ineffective and hinders performance, therefore showing emotions indicates to colleagues that an officer can't do their job. • Officers should not display (or experience) empathy for offenders to colleagues. • Officers shouldn't display too much empathy or concern for colleagues as it makes their colleagues look weak and is if they are in need. • Suppressing emotions is viewed as being good at your job. • It is acceptable to express anger with colleagues, particularly if it is about an offender that has assaulted a colleague, or just offenders in general. • Grieving or sadness for the deceased is not acceptable, even if it is your own mum. • Officers do not need to talk about incidents, if they do it is a sign of weakness and an inability to do their work. • Officers must present a professional image to junior officers so that they can learn how to behave emotionally.

	• Officers cannot experience or express fear, as this is a sign of weakness and means that the officer is unreliable and cannot be trusted to behave as expected. • Anger towards colleagues is acceptable, within reason, as they understand plain speaking and are used to aggressive behaviour.
- **With Supervisors**	• Officers should not expect any emotional support from supervisors, they need to get on with the job required of them, regardless of their emotional needs. • Supervisors are not interested in whether officers need any welfare support after distressing incidents, but they know that they must ask the question to comply with policy. • Officers cannot display anger towards a supervisor. • Officers cannot express fear to a supervisor, they are just expected to complete the task required of them. • Supervisors do not take officer's emotions seriously. • Officers do not feel able to open up to supervisors due to their attitudes around emotional expression and weakness. • Expressing fear to a supervisor could be career limiting. • Requesting compassionate leave can be frowned upon by supervisors.

	• Supervisors do not show compassion towards officers, even if they are physically injured, they are focussed on servicing the demands of their role. • Supervisors must maintain the management position when speaking with junior officers. • Supervisors cannot show their emotions for fear of coming across as helpless and weak, they have to be strong and show that they are in control at all times, for the benefit of the junior officers. • Supervisors are often unapproachable and do not have time to deal with officer's emotions.
- **With Senior Officers**	• Officers emotions are not important and do not need to be considered. Only performance of the job is relevant. • Officers cannot express their views or opinions to senior officers, never mind their emotions. • Senior officers do not consider the emotional impact they have on junior officers as this is not important to them. • Senior officers do not build up the trust and relationships with junior officers so when they do display emotional support officers do not trust it to be genuine. • Senior officers wield power over junior officers without considering the impact on them. •

- **Unit Level Rules**	• Firearms officers have a higher level of emotional expectation placed upon them by their peers and senior leaders and need to display a more controlled and non-emotional expression than non-armed officers. • Expressing emotions as a firearms officer could lead you to lose your position on the unit. • It is okay to complain about troublesome victims and informants. It is accepted amongst close colleagues and within a team. • Junior or new to the unit officers need to prove themselves to the rest of the team as competent, and this means not displaying any emotion. • Dealing with distressing events (terrorist attack) as a team gives permission for the team to talk to each other about their emotions and different events. • Unit rules can normalise emotional suppression until officers begin to question their authentic emotional reactions. • Taking time off for your own wellbeing is akin to abandoning your colleagues and leads to a sense of guilt. • Colleagues are too busy to listen to other's issues. • Firearms officers are very macho and that means being robotic and not displaying emotions. • Officers know what they signed up to, suck it up.

	• Traffic officers are only allowed to discuss their feelings every six months in their allocated welfare appointment. • It is acceptable for a unit to morn the loss of a colleague together. • Response units are the lowest of the low and are not seen as human by other units. • Offender management units can openly express frustration, but not distress. • PSU's have a 'van culture' that is very masculine and prevents the expression of fear.
- **With Family**	• Officers suppress their emotions with their partners and spouses as they don't want to worry them that they are unable to do their job. • Officers can talk about bad management and leaders to their family. • When officers suppress their feelings with their family, particularly fear, they can become bad tempered and often snap at the partners. • Families don't understand officers work and therefore can't offer meaningful support (despite trying). • Officers suppress their emotions with their families as they don't feel they deserve to be upset by the nature of the work.

	• Families have an expectation that officers can deal with family tragedy and upset, they don't think that officers are as affected due to their work and are able to be 'strong'. • The job becomes the officer's life, to the expense of family life. • Suppressing feelings with families and not talking about work can make officers withdrawn from their families.
- **With Friends**	• You can talk to some friends, but they don't understand emotions unless they have experienced similar situations. • Friends who are officers don't talk about emotions (normal rules apply). • You can't talk to friends about the distressing incidents as it might jeopardize the friendship.
- **Back at the Station**	• Officers can express their frustration with victims and families within the confines of the station. • Showing upset or distress in the police station is not acceptable. • Officers can laugh at their work in the safety of the police station (outside of the hearing of members of the public).
- **At the Scene**	• Officer's emotions are a problem at a scene and get in the way of executing their duties. • Officer's emotions must come secondary to their work at a scene.

	• Scene's are often in public view and this prevents officer's displaying or communicating any emotion.

Feeling Rules are Communicated By:	• Offices themselves at scenes, when they are the senior officer, they believe that they have to show leadership to junior officers by not displaying any emotion. • Officers judge other officers for their emotional display – seeing it as 'losing control.' • Investigations into other officers – where emotions could indicate that your decision making is compromised and therefore worthy of investigation by Professional Standards. • The organisation not ensuring that there is a supervisor on duty to support officers when they return to the station post incident. This sends the signal that officers lives and welfare are not important. • Senior offices speaking to junior officers in a derogatory manner. • Members of the public don't expect to see officer's emotions, and don't tolerate officers eating and drinking in public, or appreciate that they have to go home and the end of a shift.

	• Colleagues banter back at the station after officer being assaulted. • Supervisors not caring about officer's wellbeing and taking no interest. • Officers do not express emotions themselves due to fear of being seen as weak. • The organisational processes and procedures undervaluing officer's career and development. • Senior Leaders presenting as unaffected by serious incidents. • The media, when they focus in on officers who do display emotion – putting them on the front page. Singling them out as different, and at the same time shaming them. • Senior Leaders not caring about officers emotional and physical wellbeing after incurring personal injury. • Senior Leaders give no recognition of hard work and hours worked, expectation that officers will work themselves to the bone for no recognition. • By wearing uniform – so members of the public and non-uniformed colleagues don't see the human behind the uniform. • Senior Leaders lack of honesty around situation of policing and subsequent decision making. Treat officers with lack of respect and trust. • Minimum staffing levels are ignored, or changed to accommodate lack of resources, not considering impact on individual officer's work levels and subsequent wellbeing.

	• Organisation doesn't address poor performance, putting both struggling officers and their colleagues under excess strain. • No debriefing. If there is a debrief it is about finding out what went wrong and who is to blame. • Wellbeing interventions only being available at headquarters. • Routine single crewing. • Child care is not supported or a recognised as a need by the organisation. • No psychological support offered to officers in specialist units dealing with disrupted bodies, or child death. • No debriefing.
Feeling rules are Enforced By:	• Through training. Officers are taught through the national decision-making model which does not consider emotions of the officer or anyone else. • Post Incident Procedure for taser discharge. Requires emotional suppression. • Through loss of role – officers will lose their 'ticket' (firearms or PSU) or lose their place on a specialist unit. • Through policy and process which has eroded officer discretion, removing their ability to empathise with offenders – forcing them to suppress their true emotions. • Through body worn camera – officers are under constant surveillance.

	• Through fear of internal investigation. • Members of the public filming officers at incidents. • Being placed on restricted duties or removed from team. • Senior Leaders telling officers that they have no voice and that their opinions do not matter. • Members of the public who verbally (and physically) abuse officers. • Public shaming through spreadsheets. • Debriefs that are inquisitions and witch hunts. • Fear of loss of job. • The courts who argue that officers should come to expect verbal abuse and threats as part of their role, and refuse to convict potential offenders, where if the offender had been non police, there would have been a conviction.

Appendix P: Audio Diary Themes Examining Psychological Outcomes.

Burnout	
Emotional Exhaustion	• Leads to shortness of temper and loss of patience with other members of the public, colleagues and family, leading to sense of isolation. • Tiredness and feeling drained, inability to concentrate, leading to frustration. • Unable to switch of from work when at home on rest days. • Unable to emotionally engage with people due to preoccupation with own stress levels. • Strong sense of becoming ill. • Eroded emotional resilience. • No time to process emotions between jobs. • Not sleeping, feeling burnt out and having no appetite for work. • Recognition of change in emotional response over years. • Feeling numb, recognising no emotional response. • 'Building up tolerance'. • No energy to empathise.

	• Feeling like on a roundabout, same things, different day.
Depersonalisation	• Seeing victims as having a sense of entitlement. • Treating wellbeing and officers mental health as a 'tick in the box' exercise. • Not seeing offenders as human beings and having no empathy/caring for offenders is seen as not normal. • Being rude and aggressive to colleagues. • Witnesses are seen as sources of information and their own needs are not considered. • Seeing incidents as tasks to complete, not cognisant of the victims within them. • Just want to complete job and move onto next job, don't care anymore. • Higher threshold for empathy. • Dismissing victims as liars because they come from a notorious estate. • Colleagues wanting to know the gory details. • Not bothered about seeing people with no head. • Not seeing people as victims but as problems.
Lack of Personal Accomplishment	• Not being able to act on empathy. • Not seeing justice for colleagues who are assaulted.

	• Not being appreciated by 'entitled' victims. • Not able to provide service to community that have served for many years. • Feeling worthless in the eyes of the organisation. • Offenders not getting meaningful sentences at court. • Having too high a work load to provide a meaningful service to anyone. • Going beyond call of duty and not getting recognised for commitment and sacrifice by senior leaders. • Not being noticed when you return to work after leave. • Facing internal criticism on Monday morning after working long hours over weekend keeping public safe. • I am just a number. • The public don't care about police officer wellbeing.
Dissociation	• Avoid thinking about emotions. • Unaware of emotions until physical response (not sleeping). • Detaching from emotions. • Emotional numbing through action. • Hypo emotionality attending death – trying to force emotion for deceased family.

	• Aware of having no emotions - numb. • Derealisation – feeling detached from the scene of violence and death. • Emotional compartmentalisation – putting emotions to one side to get on with the job. • Avoiding emotions of fear by engaging anger. • Physical freezing on seeing violence and death. • On 'auto pilot' – robotic in actions. • Blocking emotions – not thinking about victims of their families. • Derealisation – violence in otherwise pleasant scenes. • Avoiding physical triggers such as scenes of trauma. • Using humour to avoid difficult emotions. • Active emotional regulation and modulation. • Shutting down as only option for coping.

Appendix Q: Participant 6 Audio Diary Entry Two.

I sat down with one of the probationers, who has only been in the job a year, I went through a number of jobs that she has dealt with in her first year in the job, of which six months that was in training so it is only six months that she was on the street. She has dealt with at least six deaths, the very first one that she went to was hugely smelly, been dead for about a week before anybody noticed it, her first ever disorder, public order incident she had dealt with, it was the first time in my twenty three years that I had used my baton, it was quite a nasty public order incident and it has got twelve suspects, she was assaulted by a female when she was answering a welfare call. She has had about ten mispers (Missing Persons), including one of them she actually found them barely conscious stuck up to his waist in mud, he was trying to make his way to the river to kill himself, he performed CPR on a druggie that had taken an overdose and their heart had started beating, which she recovered, a mental health issue where a person self-harming in front of her, curfew 136 detentions, including somebody who was stood on the bridge, domestic disputes including one where the female came to the door as the officer arrived and had a knife in their hand, one of the other things is that when she has been off duty, she has, she was abused, she was talking her children to school, he children are only six and eight year old, taking her children to school and she got confronted by a suspect to one of the crimes that she was investigating, he was verbally abusive and aggressive towards, of course this is whilst she is off duty with her own children. She dealt with a fourteen year old boy with autism who had a seizure and having to restrain him, at the same time she was bitten and kicked and scratched by the boy. Some 135 detentions, including an elderly guy with dementia, number of neighbourhood disputes, another one that she was upset about was a prisoner released from custody, she was not involved in the investigation, he was fairly vulnerable and she got asked to transport him from custody back to his home address and during the journey he was verbally abusive and aggressive to the officers, sexual assaults on children, where she has been dealing with that. What else is there, and last week she dealt with an RTC where the victim was a pedestrian and had lost

consciousness, another one where, ah this was the same one actually, she was consoling the casualty, it was initially reported as an RTC but she had actually thrown herself in front of the car and when she regained consciousness all she kept saying was 'I want to see my dad, I want to see my dad' it turns out that her dad had killed himself a couple of years earlier and that was what she was actually saying, rather than what the officer thought was she just wanted to see her fully alive and mobile dad, now that is just in the space of six months. How do I feel about it? What is my initial response, it is, I am thinking to myself, 'shit, I have dealt with every single one of those types of calls in my twenty three years, in this job and then some more as well'. It is a normal day's work. It is just an example of the amount of trauma that we have to deal with and those incidents are just within the six months, I feel sorry for her she has got another thirty years of this to go, but she is a very good officer and as long as she looks after herself she will be fine and I hope that the input that I am giving her as a Sgt will stand her in good stead for the rest of her career, sometimes I wish that my Sgt had done some talking and input I have given to my staff and he didn't and here I am now.

Author's Publications.

- Lennie, SJ. (2018) 'Policing parenting: Psychological challenges for officers and their families.' *International Journal of Birth and Parent Education,* 5(4) pp. 4-6.

- Lennie, SJ., Crozier, S.E. and Sutton, A. (2019 in press) 'Robocop – The depersonalisation of police officers and their emotions: A diary study of emotional labor and burnout in front line British police officers.' *International Journal of Law Crime and Justice.*

- Lennie, S. J. (2020, forthcoming). Caring and Coping: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis of Lecturer's Emotional Labour in the context of higher education commercialisation and the consequences for staff and student well-being. In M. Antoniadou and M. Crowder (Eds). *Modern Day Challenges in Academia: Time for a Change.* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, Chapter 13.